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LLIAM I. EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

THE INTERNATIONAL

PORTRAIT GALLE

THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

THE name of the Emperor of Germany is one of the most significant in the nineteenth century. It may be taken to symbolise that unification of the German people and regeneration of the German Empire with which it must always remain inseparably associated. Nothing during the last fifty years has been more remarkable, or is likely to exercise a greater influence upon Europe, than the consolidation under single governments of the two great countries, Italy and Germany. It would be difficult to overrate the importance and the salutariness of the results that may be expected from it, and have even already begun to appear. In older and more barbarous times the aggregation of extensive territories under the hand of a single powerful ruler has not always been a beneficial thing, and even in days more near our own its effect has often been disastrous. But the great distinction must be kept carefully in mind, between that merely territorial dominion which has been effected by the violence of an unscrupulous and ambitious man, and such consolidation as that which Italy and Germany have lately undergone, where a number of petty and ill-governed States have been incorporated into one great whole, to which by speech and race they naturally belong. The consequences of the former have generally been evil, while from the latter we may reasonably look for good. The accomplishment of this result has been chiefly due, in Italy, to Victor Emmanuel and his minister Cavour; in Germany, to Prince Bismarck and the present Emperor. The history of the Emperor William's life is, therefore, so far as its main interest is concerned, little else than an account of the rise of Prussia from the low condition to which Napoleon had brought her till she has come to be the head of a united Empire.

WILHELM I. (Friedrich Ludwig) is the second son of Frederick William III. of Prussia, and younger brother of the late Frederick William IV. He was born on the 22nd of March, 1797. His early childhood was passed amid the convulsion and alarm occasioned by the ambition of the first Napoleon. No country suffered more than Germany from the disasters of that time, when all her different States were overrun by the French. In 1806 Napoleon brought the old German Empire to a close, by forcing Francis II. of Austria to renounce the Imperial crown, and established the Confederation of the Rhine to take its place. At this date Prince William was not ten years old. He

was educated as a soldier, and entered the army early enough to take part in the desperate struggle which ended in the overthrow of Napoleon at Leipsic. He served again in the campaign which succeeded the escape from Elba, and which was brought to a close by the battle of Waterloo. His early association with the humiliation of his country, which had been ground into insignificance under the power of the French, no doubt worked powerfully upon the young Prince's mind, and may serve in some measure to explain that firm reliance upon the army, and that earnest attention to military affairs which have marked his policy through life. In 1822, the then King of Prussia took Prince William and a younger brother on a tour in Italy, and Baron Bunsen had the honour of conducting them through Rome. A letter of the Baron's has been preserved, in which he speaks of Prince William in terms of praise, as "of a serious and manly character," calculated to inspire sincere devotion and esteem This favourable judgment was confirmed by further intercourse in later times.

In 1840, on the accession of his brother to the throne, Prince William became heir apparent, and henceforth bore the title of "Prince of Prussia." He was immediately appointed Governor of Pomerania, and had several regiments placed under his command. He sat also in the first Diet convoked in Prussia, and had considerable influence in the direction of political affairs. But, true to his belief that a king's best reliance is on his regiments, he devoted himself especially to the army, and endeavoured by every means in his power to perfect the discipline of the troops entrusted to him. In the summer of 1844 he visited England, where Baron Bunsen became once more his guide

But events were at this time coming to a crisis on the Continent. A strong popular feeling was growing at Berlin. On coming to the throne, Frederick William IV. had promised to reform the Constitution by making various changes of a liberal nature, and a powerful party in the State was agitating to procure a fulfilment of the promise. This course was very distasteful to the King, who thought to evade the pledges he had given by granting a few unimportant reforms. But he underrated the strength of the popular movement. At last, in 1848, matters came to a head. A revolutionary wave, which began with the fall of Louis Philippe, swept over Europe, and nowhere, out of France itself, was it more felt than in Germany. The King of Prussia had been warned of what was likely to occur, and by no one more distinctly than by our own Prince Consort, who, in an able memorandum, towards the close of 1847, had clearly set the state of things before him. There were, he said, two main objects that public opinion in Germany had in view, viz , the establishment of popular forms of government, and the construction of a united Germany; and he had pointed out the means which, in his view, were best calculated to bring about these changes peaceably. But the King did not act on this advice, and, in his resistance to reform, he seems to have been supported by the Prince of Prussia, who, strongly as he desired the union of Germany, and strenuously as he has worked to bring that union about, has never been inclined towards popular forms of government, but has always relied on military rather than constitutional means to secure the ends he had in view. In March, 1848, the revolutionary movement reached Berlin, after it had already extorted concessions from the rulers of the south-western States A collision between the populace and the soldiery, occasioned by a great reform meeting, held on the 13th of March, obliged the King of Prussia to give way. On the 18th, in a proclamation, he granted various reforms, hoping by this means to get the lead of a movement he could no longer stem But on that very day an accidental circumstance provoked a fiercer storm than ever The people had gathered in crowds before the palace to offer their congratulations to the King, when, by an unlucky chance, two muskets were discharged from the ranks of the soldiers who lined the square. This roused the popular fury. With cries of "Treachery!" the people threw up barricades and rushed to arms. A sanguinary struggle lasted through the

night, and bathed the streets in blood. The military at length obtained the upper hand; but, instead of firmly suppressing the disorder, the King, by half measures and weak concessions, only succeeded in smoothing over difficulties for a time, without arriving at any permanent solution. By his vacillation he alienated the confidence of his subjects, while he roused the jealousy of Austria by offensive proclamations, in which he announced himself as the "leader of the German people—the new King of the free, regenerated German nation."

In consequence of these disorders, the Prince of Prussia, who had acted with the troops against the people, and who was believed to entertain reactionary opinions, was compelled to leave the country. His palace was only saved from destruction by an inscription which declared it to be "National Property." On leaving Berlin he came at once to England, like many other refugees before and since. During the short period of his exile he stayed with his old friend, Baron Bunsen, at whose London house he unexpectedly appeared early on the morning of the 27th of March. He employed himself in a close and careful study of the British Constitution, and, by his noble and manly bearing, his truthful disposition, and his simple, unostentatious manners, won golden opinions from all who came in contact with him—opinions which, through life, his spotless personal character has justified. Before long, however, the way was opened for his return. On the 31st of May he left London for Berlin. Arrived there, he was elected deputy to the Constituent Assembly, convoked to deliberate upon a new Constitution, but it does not appear that he took part in its proceedings. The time was one of great confusion; Berlin was declared in a state of siege, and all the efforts of the King to come to an agreement with the nation were for some time unavailing, owing in great part to his endeavours after untimely compromises. The next appearance of Prince William on the scene of German politics is connected with the insurrection of 1849 in Baden, which he was sent with a Prussian army to suppress. But, in order to the understanding of this action on the part of Prussia, a few words are necessary to explain the position of affairs in Germany.

On the dissolution, in 1815, of the unsubstantial Confederation of the Rhine, established by Napoleon, those States which still preserved a separate existence combined together to form a "German Confederation," and the ancient Diet was revived as its legislative and executive organ. The Diet, however, became itself the chief bar to German unity, owing to its reactionary and dynastic tendencies. It sank to be a tool in the hands of the conservative reigning house of Austria. The revolutionary movement of 1848 obliged the princes to sanction the election of a National Assembly, or general congress of representatives of the German people. This Assembly met in Frankfort, and chose the Archduke John of Austria, as "Vicar of the Empire," to administer the affairs of the nation generally. His authority was unreal, for the choice offended Prussia, with whom the material power lay. Early in 1849 the National Assembly elected the King of Prussia "Hereditary Emperor of the Germans," but this dignity he declined, because offered by the people instead of by the princes. The previous action of the Assembly had deeply mortified him, and cooled his ardour in the cause of the "Fatherland." He became from this time more possessed with Absolutist ideas, and his jealousy of Austria was perceptibly increased. Thus it was that, when the populace uprose in Baden and drove the Grand Duke from the land, Prussia interfered to quell the insurrection. The Prince of Prussia was made Commander-in-Chief of the forces despatched for this purpose. He defeated the insurgents under Mierolawski, a Polish refugee, and enabled the Grand Duke to re-enter Carlsruhe on the 18th of August. In October he took up quarters at Coblentz, as military Governor of the Rhine Provinces.

During all this time the differences at Berlin continued. It was not till the beginning of 1850 that the efforts to arrive at some sort of understanding that might become the basis of a

Constitution, were at all successful. At last, however, on the 2nd of February in that year, a new Constitution was published, defining the powers of the King and Parliament, and the duties of the Ministers of the Crown. Although it underwent important modifications between that time and 1857, it formed the basis of the Constitution as now by law established. It provided for a Representative Chamber as well as a House of Peers, and made a distinct advance towards universal suffrage. Meanwhile, the sanguinary manner in which Prussia had suppressed the rising in Baden had put an end to Republican demonstrations throughout Germany, so that, at the Convention of Olmutz, in November, 1850, Austria and Prussia were enabled to come to an arrangement. The National Assembly having fallen to pieces, these two Powers, in spite of mutual jealousy, combined together to restore the Diet, which became thenceforth the arena of their contest for supremacy.

But we must return to Prince William. In 1854 he was appointed Colonel-General of infantry, and Governor of the Federal fortress of Mayence. In 1857 the health of the King broke down, and, the mental disease from which he suffered obliging him to withdraw from State affairs, the reins of government were entrusted to his brother. One year later, on October 7th, 1858, the Prince of Prussia was declared Permanent Regent. This was the year in which, on the 25th of January, the Prince's eldest son, the present Crown Prince of Germany, was married to our Princess Royal. The Regent took up at once a liberal attitude, and dismissed the aristocratic or Manteuffel Ministry, a proceeding which might seem strange, did we not bear in mind that the greatness of Prussia and the union of all Germany under her leadership have always been with him the most important objects, to which mere questions of political party have been invariably subordinated. The new Cabinet showed tendencies more liberal than its predecessors with regard to Prussia itself, and more national with reference to external affairs. At the same time, the Regent continued to bestow attention upon the army, the reorganisation of which he was determined to effect. His announcement, in the beginning of 1860, that the "Prussian army would be in future the Prussian nation in arms," was only a prelude to that radical remodelling of the forces, which was soon to cause a severe and protracted struggle with his Parliament.

On the 2nd of January, 1861, King Frederick William died, and the Prince Regent became, accordingly, King William I. His accession was marked by the publication of an amnesty for political offences, and was welcomed by the Liberals, who now regarded him as favourable to their policy. But their expectations were doomed to disappointment. The proclamation issued when the new King mounted the throne gave early indications of a strict and warlike policy, which he proceeded without delay to develop by his actions. In the autumn he visited the Emperor of the French at Compiègne, and then returned to prepare for his coronation. This took place on the 18th of October, at the little university town of Königsberg. On this occasion his Majesty avowed his Absolutist principles in the clearest and most emphatic manner. The doctrine of "divine right" was asserted in the most uncompromising shape. On the eve of the ceremony he informed a deputation from the Prussian Chambers that the rulers of Prussia received their sovereignty from God alone, and that he intended himself to lift the crown from the altar to his head. This act, he explained, would be the only fitting interpretation of the words, "King by the Grace of God" The true sanctity of a God-given crown he declared to be inviolable. He entered into no obligation to regard the Diet as a Parliament, and said that the part his people had to play was to be faithful, devoted, and self-sacrificing. The substance of this he reiterated on the morrow, when he actually crowned himself in the manner he had indicated Such action on the part of an ambitious and unprincipled man would have been ominous in the extreme, but with King William the case was different. Earnest and

upright, and with a single mind devoted to the welfare of the Fatherland, he has assumed always a bold, and sometimes a despotic, attitude, but his policy has resulted in the public good.

On returning to his capital, he entered on a course of enormous military reorganisation. He increased the army and developed the navy, and undertook a vast system of coast defences. But all this was not effected at a single stroke. It took several years to accomplish, and entailed a violent struggle with the Lower Chamber, which was vehemently opposed to all these projects. The dispute arose on the question of military expenditure, and the Opposition, which embraced a vast majority of the House, refused to vote the necessary supplies. Early in the session of 1862 the King dissolved the Chambers, and dismissed the Liberal members of the Ministry. A reactionary Cabinet was formed under Von der Heydt, who endeavoured to gain favour by some liberal acts. But, in spite of this, the elections went completely against the Government, only one of the ministers being re-elected. The King refused to open the Parliament in person, and the deputies rejected the ministerial demand of credit for the army. Upon this Von der Heydt resigned, and his place was filled by Bismarck, whom the King had sent as Ambassador to Paris, in order, as it is said, to prepare him for the high position his Majesty foresaw he would be required to fill. This able and determined man was admirably fitted to carry out the task entrusted to him. He did not shrink from the strongest measures, when the continued opposition of the Chamber made these necessary. He informed the deputies that the Budget would be deferred till 1863, and, on their protesting against this course as unconstitutional, and adopting the proposals of the Budget Commission, which the Government had declared impracticable, a vote was procured in the Upper Chamber, annulling the proceedings of the deputies, and the session was closed by a message from the King, which stated that "the Budget for the year 1862, as decreed by the Chamber of Representatives, having been rejected by the Chamber of Peers, on the ground of insufficiency, the Government is under the necessity of controlling the public affairs outside the Constitution." This high-handed act, together with the prosecution of the Progressist journals, and other despotic measures, served only to increase the vehemence of the Opposition, and the country was thereby brought to the verge of civil war. In 1863 things did not mend. New conflicts having occurred, the Chamber addressed a memorial to the King on the subject of their relation to the Ministry, to which his Majesty replied, that his ministers possessed his confidence. The sitting was then adjourned, an attempt being made to do without a Parliament. These extreme measures caused a temporary alienation between the King and the Crown Prince, who disavowed participation in them, and censured the Ministry in a letter to his father. This breach, however, was soon healed.

The rupture with Denmark, which now occurred, served as a welcome diversion from the troubles of home politics. It adjourned the difficulties of the Constitutional question, and enhanced the prestige of the throne by an easy military triumph. Into an account of the famous Slesvig-Holstein controversy, and of the war to which it at this time gave rise, it is unnecessary to enter here. It will be sufficient to recall the fact that, by the peace which was signed with Denmark in October, 1864, the two duchies were surrendered by the Danes; and by the Convention of Gastein, in August, 1865, Holstein was put under the temporary government of Austria, and Slesvig under that of Prussia.

After the close of the war the relations between the Ministry and the Chamber still continued stormy. In June, 1865, the latter was once more prorogued, the Government being again determined, if possible, to rule without it. The King, who was at Carlsbad, issued a despotic decree,

appropriating and disposing of the revenue, and severe measures were taken to suppress all Liberal demonstrations. In 1866 Parliament was again prorogued, after only a few weeks' sitting, during which, however, the Upper House had actively supported Bismarck. It would be idle to conjecture how these difficulties would have been solved, had not the external relations of the country, at this juncture, intervened to cut the knot. A struggle with Austria for the supremacy in Germany had been long preparing, and now broke out. It was, no doubt, greatly with a view to this emergency that the King and his Prime Minister had been so anxious to improve the army. The immediate cause of this fresh war was a continuation of the dispute about Slesvig-Holstein; but, although this question had not arisen, the collision would probably have been inevitable. Into the details of the controversy it would be beyond our scope to enter; we can merely note that the year 1864 was passed in mutual recriminations on the part of the two great Powers, first, in regard to their designs upon the Danish duchies, and afterwards, with reference to the warlike preparations each was making. A Prussian alliance with Italy increased the hostility of Austria. In April, Bismarck moved for a reform in the Constitution of the Germanic Confederation, whose Diet was under the undue influence of Austria, and proposed that a National Parliament should be elected by universal suffrage. This scheme, of course, fell through, and, on the 14th of June, Austria moved that Prussia should be compelled to disarm. Several of the smaller States supported this proposal, and thereby incurred the lasting enmity of Prussia. The latter, through her representative, Bismarck, pronounced the Germanic Confederation to be dissolved, and, on the 18th of June, declared war against Austria. Her troops entered Hanover and Saxony and the other States that had voted for her disarmament, and distributed a circular among the people as they went. This circular announced that the "breach of the Confederation was completed, and the ancient Federal relations had been torn asunder. Nothing remains," it continued, "but the basis of the Confederation, the living unity of the German nation, and it is the duty of the governments of the people to give new expression, instinct with life and power, to that unity." This was a clear expression of the policy of the Prussian King; he was fighting for German unity, under the hegemony of Prussia. The event justified his expectations. Nearly all the northern States joined with her from the outset, and, at the close of the war —which ended with the memorable battle of Sadowa, where King William in person commanded the victorious army—a peace was made which fully gave effect to Prussian views. Hanover and other States, together with the Slesvig-Holstein duchies, were incorporated entire. Saxony was allowed to retain a separate status, but, along with the other States north of the Maine, was united with Prussia in a new "North German Confederation," of a more intimate nature than any previous league. With the Southern States treaties of offensive and defensive alliance were concluded, securing the supreme command to Prussia in case of war. From the whole of this new organisation Austria was quite excluded, and thus the chief bar to union was removed. The new Confederation was put in force from the 1st of July, 1867. It consisted of three estates, viz., the Presidency, which rested with King William; the Federal Council, composed of delegates from all the States; and the Diet, or common Parliament, elected by universal suffrage. Bismarck, now a Count, was appointed Chancellor, and President of the Federal Council.

The efforts of the next year or two were devoted to strengthening and extending the union thus effected. On June 25th, 1868, the King inaugurated the Luther monument at Worms, under circumstances which gave to the ceremony the aspect of a national festival,

and, in 1869, he opened the first German military port in Oldenburg. By such measures as these an approach was made to the unification of Germany, but another desperate struggle was required before it could be made complete. The Austrian war had sufficed to restore internal harmony to Prussia, and to place her at the head of an extensive German league. The Franco-Prussian war, which now ensued, made the fusion perfect, and raised the Prussian monarch to an Imperial throne. France had for some time looked with jealousy upon events across the Rhine, and a dispute with Prussia in regard to Luxemburg had increased her animosity. When Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern became a candidate for the Spanish throne, her hostility appeared in an emphatic form. She professed to dread a revival of the Empire of Charles V., and demanded a withdrawal of the Prince's candidature. With the Prussian King's consent Prince Leopold renounced his claim; but this was not sufficient for the French, who demanded guarantees against the future. These King William refused to give, and the Emperor Napoleon thereupon declared war upon Prussia (July 15th, 1870). The declaration was answered by a proclamation from King William, who announced that "the love of the common Fatherland and the unanimous uprising of the German races had conciliated all opinions, and dissipated all disagreements." . . . "The war," he went on to say, "will procure for Germany a durable peace, and from this bloody seed will arise a harvest blessed by God, the liberty and unity of Germany." The words are memorable for their prediction, which was destined to so ample a fulfilment. The French Government endeavoured to separate the South German States from their alliance with King William, but the attempt was vain; for they all from the first joined heartily on the Prussian side, and, by November of that year, formally entered the North German Confederation. The events of the war are too well known to call for notice; suffice it to say, that the King, though by this time an old man of over seventy-three, went gallantly through the whole campaign, and commanded in person at the important victory of Gravelotte. When the German army was besieging Paris, after the surrender of Napoleon at Sedan, the King of Bavaria proposed in a letter that King William should be invited to assume the dignity of Emperor of Germany. All the German States now belonged to the Confederation, and it would be but fitting that the King by whom this union had been brought about should revive, in his own person, the old Imperial title. The Prussian Chambers seconded the proposal, and sent a deputation to Versailles to urge the step upon him. To this deputation his Majesty replied, that the matter did not rest with him. "It is only," he said, "in the unanimous voice of the German princes and free cities, and the corresponding wish of the German nation, that I can recognise a call of Providence that I can obey." This unanimity was speedily obtained, and, on the 1st of January, 1871, surrounded by the German princes and representatives from the regiments, in the "Hall of Mirrors" of the palace at Versailles, King William was proclaimed Emperor of Germany, and by this act completed that union of the German States, to the attainment of which the policy of his whole life had been devoted.

Since then the efforts of the Emperor have been directed to promote internal harmony and progress, and the tenor of his life has been broken by few events of striking interest. The enthusiastic devotion with which he is everywhere regarded is a sufficient justification of the policy he has pursued. In September, 1872, a friendly meeting of the three Emperors took place at Berlin, and in the following year the Emperor William returned the courtesy by visits to St. Petersburg and Vienna. In October of the same year he gave a decision adverse to this country in the San Juan boundary dispute, which the governments of England and America had referred to him for arbitration.



(Photographie de Mme Fleurus, Cours de Vincennes)

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M LÉON GAMBETTA.

In 1873, in consequence of the declaration of Papal infallibility, and the measures adopted by the German Parliament to coerce the ecclesiastics who would not submit to State control, difficulties arose between Germany and the Vatican. The Pope wrote a letter to the German Emperor complaining of the ecclesiastical prosecutions, and asserting his authority over all baptised persons. The Emperor sent a firm, but courteous reply, justifying the measures of his Government, and denying the right of any save Jesus Christ to mediate between God and man. The letter was in effect a declaration that Germany would not tolerate ecclesiastical supremacy. In the following January the late Earl Russell wrote to the Emperor, expressing sympathy with the struggle against the Pope, and received from that sovereign a gracious reply.

In 1875, the Emperor was present with all his family, when a colossal statue of Arminius, the deliverer of the ancient Germans from the Roman arms, was unveiled before 40,000 spectators, on a hill-top near the scene of his heroic exploits. The statue was erected with a symbolical reference to the national unity, and one of the inscriptions upon it compares the Emperor William to the ancient hero* In October of the same year, King Victor Emmanuel entertained the Emperor at Milan. There is something remarkable in the meeting of these two illustrious monarchs, the efforts of whose lives had been so similar in aim and in success. Other noteworthy occurrences are the celebration, on the 1st of January, 1877, of the seventieth anniversary of the Emperor's entering the Prussian army, and, on the 22nd of March, of his eightieth birthday. On the former occasion a reception of officers took place, to whom, in reply to a flattering speech from the Crown Prince, the Emperor declared it was chiefly through the army that Prussia had become what she was; and on the latter, he was presented by the German sovereigns with a painting representing the ceremony at Versailles.

In the year 1878 two dastardly attempts were made on the Emperor's life, while he was driving in an open carriage in Berlin: first, on the 11th of May, by a tinsmith of the name of Hoedel, and again, on the 2nd of June, by a certain Dr. Nobiling, who fired from an upper window of his house. In the former case the Emperor was unhurt; in the latter, he was seriously wounded: happily, however, he has since recovered. As a result of the second attempt, and the illness it occasioned, the Crown Prince was empowered, by an Imperial decree, to act for the Emperor in all State affairs. Hoedel, after trial, was condemned and executed. The Emperor's life had been attempted once before, by a Leipsic student, in 1861, at a time when there was a strong political feeling against him. These last attempts have been ascribed to Socialistic influences, and have given rise to stringent measures against the Social democrats. With the nation at large they have but helped to increase the popularity of their sovereign, even in places such as Hanover, where, only a few years ago, his very name was hated.

The Emperor was married, in 1829, to the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Weimar, who has proved a worthy helpmate to him throughout his long and arduous career. He has two children—the Crown Prince, and a daughter, who is the wife of the Grand Duke of Baden.

* "Arman dem Retter ist er gleich:" *He is like Hermann the Saviour.*

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph published by Messrs. Lescher & Paich, and J. Gerson, 5, Rathbone Place, London, W.*]

Léon Michel Gambetta.

NO nation of Europe receives aliens with such open arms as France, and, in return, no nation has been so handsomely rewarded by the devotion and eminent service of aliens and their descendants. Irish, Scottish, Polish, German, and Swiss names thickly stud the pages of her picturesque annals; but Italians, from contiguity, similarity of temperament, and affinity of language, naturally contribute more than others to the glory of the land of their adoption. Indeed, in the southern provinces the two peoples "meet, mingle, and unite," and it is only when a man arrives at an eminence sufficient to interest the world in his ancestry that the distinction is noted. To such eminence no French citizen of the day has a better claim than the subject of this brief sketch, Léon Michel Gambetta.

Young Léon first saw the light at Cahors, in the Department of the Lot, on the 2nd of April, 1838. His parents were of Genoese extraction, occupying what in this country would be termed a middle-class position in life, the elder Gambetta being a bustling oil merchant in his little town. A man of good sense and more than average intelligence, he imparted to his boy what was better than wealth—a sound education, a dauntless spirit, and habits of energy and matchless resource His youth may be safely assumed to have been blamelessly spent, for all the vials of Bonapartist and Clerical wrath have at one time or other been poured on his head; and a character that can emerge unscathed from such an ordeal is entitled to be regarded as sheathed in the very steel of virtue. Paul de Cassagnac and Louis Veuillot are not opponents that stick at trifles when defamation of a political adversary will serve their ends. The sum total of their efforts to distort the great Republican's reputation has merely been to create a sort of "Gambettist legend." Nor is this altogether to be wondered at There is much in the career of the ex-Dictator of Tours well calculated to impress the imagination. A great nation, which claims to be—and not without some show of reason—the home of civilisation and refinement, lies prostrate before an invader, who has struck her down as with the hammer of Thor. Her stoutest-hearted sons are stunned, distracted, hopeless. The calamity seems irreparable. Even honour has been lost Historic France is in the agonies of impending dissolution Suddenly a young man, who has never been in office, whose fame is chiefly Parisian, and resting on the sandy foundation of half a dozen "irreconcilable" speeches—the "*fou furieux*" of M. Thiers—descends from the clouds in a balloon, and, like another *Grand Monarque*, tells France "*L'état c'est moi!*" More astonishing still, everybody obeys him He raises armies as if by magic, and money as if he had the Cap of Fortunatus or had discovered the Philosopher's Stone. Like the first Napoleon, he makes generals "out of mud," even wins battles; and though he cannot achieve the impossible, he saves the honour of France, rehabilitating her in self-respect and in the sympathy of other peoples. One thing, at all events, he makes irresistibly clear, viz., that

the era of great individualities is not yet past. The age of Agamemnon has no monopoly of heroes. It was only after the Dictator had ceased to be Dictator, and resumed his place as a private in the democratic ranks, that people began to ask seriously, "Who *is* this Gambetta? Whence? Who his parents?" The wits of Paris said he was his own father, and provincial clericals were half disposed to believe it. Blind of an eye, the ex-Dictator was, rightly or wrongly, declared to be the author of his own blindness. The story of his one-eyed state is thus told, and, true or false, is admirably illustrative of his iron will and innate detestation of despotic authority:—When a lad, his father sent him to a boarding-school, taught by Jesuit Fathers. The discipline was not to young Léon's mind, nor the doctrines Accordingly he wrote to Gambetta *père*, begging that he might be removed to some less obscurantist and more congenial seminary. The father took no notice of his complaint, thinking that time would reconcile the youth to the ways of the establishment. Thereupon Léon wrote again, intimating that if he were not withdrawn from the priestly tuition by a given day he should put out the light of one of his eyes. Still the parent was inexorable. Presently, however, a letter from the principal of the school arrived, conveying the shocking intelligence that Léon, as good as his word, had wilfully and irremediably injured one of his eyes, and that he had threatened to deal with the other in a similar manner at an early date. Needless to say, the father had Léon at once removed to more agreeable educational quarters.

Unlike the great Republicans of France, living and dead, Gambetta, though a substantial scholar and a well-informed man, is not eminent as a man of letters. He is not a great poet, like Hugo; an historian, like Michelet; a philosopher, like Simon; a publicist, like Laboulaye; or an economist, like Say. In a word, he is not a bookish man: the process of ratiocination being too slow for his ardent mind, lightning-like apprehension, and strong bias towards the strictly practical. He prefers conversation to reading, speaking to writing. Nevertheless, as a rough and ready journalist he has few rivals. His organ, the *République Française*, is a model of forcible but withal discreet writing and successful management. It is to the capital of France what the *New York Tribune* was, under Horace Greely, to New England in the most critical days of the Secession struggle.

But if M. Gambetta is not, and probably never will be, a great literary artist, he has almost no superior as a public speaker. He is one of the few men living of any nation who may be said to speak *urbi et orbi*. It is in the tribune where the true genius of the man shines forth in all its splendour. If "poets are born, not made," so likewise are great orators. The English people have a just suspicion of mere glibness of speech, and in the present day Mr. Carlyle has inculcated the obligation of "silence" in more than a dozen volumes. The power and value of real eloquence are consequently greatly underrated in England. But it is obvious that a speech may be good or it may be bad, as a book may be good or bad. It is none the less unreasonable to pen works in advocacy of silence than to speak *ore rotundo* in favour of silence. The *facultas loquendi* and the *facultas scribendi* are so closely allied as means of influencing opinion, of moulding the destinies of individuals and nations, that the advent of a true orator or writer ought ever to be regarded as an occasion for rejoicing and hope. M. Gambetta is an almost unique instance in modern times of what may be effected by the unaided power of the tongue. He had neither birth, wealth, nor literary eminence to recommend him to the attention of his countrymen, but he could say the word which France was waiting to hear, and he said it. He seized the right opportunity for declaring that Louis Napoleon like a footpad had waylaid France on the Second of December, and left her senseless. The conscience of the country responded "That is so!" and from that hour the

Empire," with the renegade Republican Ollivier at its head. "We accept you and your constitutionalism," thundered Gambetta at the astonished Minister, "as a bridge to the Republic, but nothing more!" In the debate on the proposal of the Minister to proceed against M Henri Rochefort, then one of the deputies for Paris, for an alleged treasonable article in the *Marseillaise*, he again warned the Imperialists that their day of grace was drawing to a close, and that the Republic would shortly be the lawful government of the country, established by the will of the people without force of arms. Neither he nor any one of his party divined that the Emperor would have recourse to the criminal expedient of a desperate foreign war in order to re-establish the shattered domestic credit of the dynasty

The plot, however, thickened rapidly. On the 7th of February, 1870, he had protested against the arrest of Rochefort. In the following April came the notorious plebiscite, the prelude to the Franco-German war and the "terrible year." On that occasion he essayed the impossible task of convincing a Chamber profoundly reactionary and anti-Republican that the Republic is preferable to every other form of government, and that in the perils on which the dynasty was rushing the adoption of a Republic could alone save the State from imminent ruin. He spoke for three hours, and though he, of course, failed to convince the Chamber, he entranced the members by the fervour of his eloquence, the vigour of his logic, and the breadth of his reasoning His own party were delighted.

> "All Rome sent forth a rapturous cry,
> And even the ranks of Tuscany
> Could scarce forbear a cheer"

He signed the manifesto of the Left, calling on the electors to vote "*Non*" to the plebiscite, and opposed to the last, almost single-handed, the mad declaration of war with Germany. On the first rumours of military disaster, M. Gambetta sternly tore off the lying disguises with which the Government sought to conceal from the people the terrible truth. On the 11th of August he rose and read from *L'Espérance de Nancy:* "Yesterday (Friday, 12th August), at three in the afternoon—date mournful for us and our children—four Prussian soldiers took possession of the city of Nancy, the ancient capital of Lorraine, and chief town in the Department of the Meurthe." The extract produced a profound sensation, first of sheer stupefaction, then indignation and rage against the "Incapables," as M. Gambetta called them, who had left the country naked to the enemy.

When, on the 4th of September, the catastrophe of Sedan became known, motions—introduced in the Chamber by Jules Favre and M. Thiers—for constituting "a Commission of Government and of National Defence" were voted urgent. While the members retired to deliberate on the appointment of the Commission, a surging crowd of citizens, National Guards, and fraternising soldiers collected, and on the resumption of the sitting received the Deputies with deafening cries of "*Vive La République! La Déchéance! La Déchéance!*" A scene of intense excitement followed. M. Schneider, pale and greatly agitated, was standing in front of the presidential chair; M. Cremieux, in the tribune, was vainly struggling to make his voice audible through the din and uproar of a thousand voices shouting "*La Déchéance! Vive La République!*" M. Gambetta mounted beside Cremieux, and besought the people to respect the deliberations of the Chamber. M. Schneider joined in his importunities, and in doing so lauded the great Republican as "one of the most patriotic men of the country." Here the President's voice was drowned in the clamour, and, taking up his hat, he suspended the sitting till three in the afternoon When the

Chamber resumed, the disorder inside and out was greater than ever, and M. Schneider again vacated the presidential chair, to resume it no more. On his departure the tribune was cleared for M. Gambetta, who ascended, and, in a firm voice, read as follows:—"Whereas the country is in danger, and time enough has been given to the representatives of the people to decree the deposition of the dynasty; and whereas we are and constitute the regular authority, the issue of universal suffrage, we hereby declare that Louis Napoleon and his dynasty have for ever ceased to reign over France!" The announcement was received with vociferous cheering and the roll of drums. At five in the afternoon the downfall of the Empire was a fully accomplished fact, when M. Gambetta proclaimed from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville the formation of a Government of National Defence, consisting of all the Paris Deputies. In this Government M Gambetta was Minister of the Interior.

On the 7th of October he was appointed one of the delegates of the Provisional Government at Tours, and quitted Paris in a balloon for the scene of his ever-memorable labours. Touching ground near Montdidier, in the Department of the Somme, he found provincial France stupefied and helpless—the sheep without a shepherd. Without a moment's hesitation he took on himself the supreme direction of affairs, uniting in his own person the Ministries of War, of Finance, and of the Interior. For four months he was Dictator of all France outside the fortifications of Paris. "Fight to-day, discuss to-morrow," was the governing principle of his policy. Instinctively men of all parties recognised that if the country was to be rescued from the grasp of the invader, M. Gambetta must be obeyed, and right loyally was he served His patriotic proclamations vibrated in every heart. His strong faith, magical voice, and dauntless courage aroused the people to the most heroic efforts, and for a brief space it seemed not improbable that the tide of invasion would be rolled back.

"Flung forth thy banner, let thy lark
Soar, singing still above thy dark
Fusanguined fields the hour is nigh,
Beloved France, thou shalt not die!"

With the unaccountable fall of Metz, however, followed by the capitulation of Paris, the whole complexion of affairs was changed. His besieged colleagues concluded an armistice with the enemy, and he was obliged to submit All previous attempts to treat with the Germans he had characterised as "culpable and frivolous," and even when Jules Simon arrived to announce the cessation of hostilities he stoutly protested in favour of a "war *à outrance*, and resistance to the point of complete exhaustion." He subsequently retired from the Government of National Defence, and at the close of the war was elected deputy for six departments. The first work of the Assembly was to ratify the treaty of peace, by which Alsace-Lorraine became German soil. M. Gambetta protested vehemently but unavailingly, and then for a short time retired to Spain, to recruit his exhausted energies, having compressed into a few brief months of herculean effort the work of many lives

With phenomenal suddenness he had bounded from complete obscurity into the first rank of French statesmen Except Thiers, the country possessed no politician of greater eminence. Could he sustain the weight of such a character? Could the Bohemian of the *Café Procope* exhibit the habitual restraint and caution requisite in a great party leader? The best seaman in a hurricane is not always the best in calmer weather. Very soon his discretion was put to a severe test In the reactionary assembly, in which he again took his seat in July, 1871, the whole vials of Bonapartist rage and clerical hate were poured out on his head. Every enemy

of progress, every foe to the Republic, felt that the ex-Dictator of Tours was the great obstacle to the realisation of his schemes. Every act of his public life was distorted and vilified Almost as poor as when he was yet a briefless *avocat*, he was accused of boundless corruption and innumerable peculations. Men who had overwhelmed the country with unheard-of disasters stigmatised him as unpatriotic and a self-seeker. He evinced his patriotism by silence An infuriated Bonapartist even struck him publicly in the face, but he took little notice of the insult, treating all personal attacks as of small account while the country remained in peril The acknowledged leader of the convinced Republicans, he recognised the great difficulties of M. Thiers' position as head of the State, and on all but rare occasions accorded him loyal support The two strong men soon came to understand each other, and to interpret aright each other's conduct. From the enforced resignation of M. Thiers down to the death of that eminent statesman on the eve of the memorable electoral struggle in October, 1877, the two were the joint pillars on which leaned the fabric of liberty, daily threatened with destruction by "governments of combat" and of "moral order." The greatest effort of the reactionaries commenced with the sudden and insulting dismissal by Marshal Macmahon of the Simon Ministry in May, 1877. The Bonapartists, Orleanists, and Legitimists had all contrived temporarily to sink their differences for the purpose of overthrowing the Republic. The Chamber was dissolved, and all the worst features of official candidatures revived and intensified fivefold. The Marshal-President undertook to "answer for order," and many believed that another *coup d'etat* was at hand. In this desperate constitutional crisis M. Gambetta renewed the prodigies of activity which he had displayed at Tours. He was the soul of the Central Electoral Committee, which counterworked and countermined the nefarious coercive measures everywhere practised by the Government. At the dissolution the Republicans in the Chamber were 363 strong out of a total of 553. "Send back the 363," was the sagacious advice tendered by Gambetta to the Republican party, and in spite of soldier, priest, and prefect, the people responded to his call by returning an immense Republican majority, which compelled the Marshal to dismiss his evil advisers, and replace them by tried friends of liberty and the Republic. Before the election M. Gambetta, in his address to his constituents at Belleville, had warned the Marshal that he had transformed himself into a plebiscitary candidate, and that the alternatives before him were to "submit or resign." The minions of "moral order" professed to regard this terse definition of the situation as treasonable, and steps were actually taken to convict its author. Needless to say, the prosecution was dropped very unceremoniously as soon as the results of the October elections were known As President of the Budget Commissions of 1877 and 1878, M. Gambetta has displayed special talents of a very high order, and delighted his colleagues by his unfailing tact and good humour. He has contributed much to the smooth working of the Exhibition, in which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has taken so deep an interest. The arch-republican and the Prince met at a *déjeûner* given by the latter, and exchanged courtesies and ideas. His Royal Highness's opinion of his guest is on record—*Homme vraiment supérieur.*

If the future of this remarkable man is to be foretold from his past it may be unhesitatingly predicted that the highest dignities which the State can bestow are destined ultimately to fall to his lot. Already, as leader of the Parliamentary majority, he possesses the substance, if not the trappings, of power. He is beyond question the man of the situation, the French Statesman who of all others best comprehends the true character of the chronic revolutionary malady from which his country has so long suffered It is his ambition—it is the aspiration of France—to close this long national agony by the definitive establishment of a Government reconciling and resting on the never-to-be-divorced principles of Liberty and Order.



ALEXANDER II CZAR OF RUSSIA

THE CZAR OF RUSSIA.

FEW positions of great power and trust are beset with so much difficulty or burdened with such grave responsibility as that of the "Autocrat of all the Russias" To be ruler of over eighty million human beings of itself involves a very weighty charge; but the peculiar features of the Czar's position, the history and geographical extent of his empire, the strongly-marked diversities, both of race and rank, among its inhabitants, the autocratic nature of the sovereign power, and the traditions of the Imperial house—all these combine to make the burden greater. His dominions are enormous, with the natural barriers to internal communication but ill surmounted by artificial means; while the population is composed of many diverse races, thinly scattered over the surface of the country, and comparatively little drawn together by education or any common interest, social or political. The government is absolute to an extreme degree. All power, both legislative and executive, is vested in the Czar, who, like the Roman emperors of old, unites in himself the headship of all departments of the State. The Church, the army, and the judicial system are under his direct and absolute control. The temptations of such a position, as Russian history but too plainly shows, are almost too great to be successfully resisted. Though the empire has had one or two great and patriotic rulers, the records of the Imperial house are deeply stained with vice and crime. Tyranny, licentiousness, and murder invest the history of the Czars with the same kind of gloomy horror that we are accustomed to associate with the annals of the Cæsars. It is assuredly no easy or enviable lot to belong to such a family and to inherit such a sway.

Alexander Nicolaivich, who rules under the title of ALEXANDER II., was born, according to the calendar of Western Europe, on the 29th of April, 1818. His uncle, Alexander I, who then occupied the throne, was a wavering and sentimental monarch, but benevolent in disposition, and sincerely anxious for his people's good. He took an active part in the Napoleonic wars, and, in spite of more than one complete reversal of his policy, brought Russia to a foremost place in Europe. At home he favoured many great reforms, and exerted himself especially in the cause of education. But towards the close of his career he yielded to his dread of the growing tendency to revolution, and adopted a rigid policy of inquisitorial repression. In 1825 he died, and left his brother Nicolas, the father of the present Czar, to brave the outbreak he had feared. Nicolas was a man of a very different stamp His education was narrow and defective, but he possessed extraordinary energy and strength of will It was his determined and decisive action that crushed the armed conspiracy which greeted his accession. A number of his regiments refused to swear allegiance, but, after a desperate and bloody conflict in front of the Imperial palace, the revolt was broken for the time. This rebellion influenced his whole career. His rule was a rigid despotism, in which everything was based on military discipline. Vigorous, uncompromising, and determined, he was resolved to stamp out

by sheer despotic power all liberal and humanitarian tendencies as symptoms of incipient revolt; and this he did, sincerely believing it to be, in all respects, the best system of government. The belief was characteristic of his forcible but half-barbarous nature. The same ideas governed his treatment of his young son Alexander. The boy had at first been brought up under the care of his mother, Alexandra Feodorovna, a sister of the present Emperor of Germany, and instructed by men of culture and literary acquirement. But on the accession of his father, the young prince's education underwent a change. The conspiracy of 1825 induced Nicolas to undertake in person the training of his son, in order that he might make him such another as himself. Military men were placed over him as governors and tutors. He was dressed in uniform and drilled like a recruit, and rapidly advanced in rank. At the age of sixteen years he was made a major, and before very long he became first aide-de-camp to Nicolas himself.

But the tedious round of drilling and reviews was ill-adapted to the young man's tastes, and he pined for more congenial pursuits. At length the system told upon his health, and he was ordered by his physicians on a foreign tour. It was hoped that change and relaxation would restore his vigour. He went first to Germany, travelling in splendid state, and meeting everywhere with a brilliant reception At the court of Hesse-Darmstadt he prolonged his stay, attracted by the presence of the Grand Duke's daughter, the Princess Marie, whom he married before he took his leave This was in 1841.

The relief he found abroad from the strictness and monotony of the barrack-room life at home was beneficial to the prince in more ways than one. His health improved, and, in intercourse with members of his mother's family and others, he came under influences that helped to foster the humaner side of his character, which had been entirely neglected under his father's stern *régime*. At the same time, his eyes were opened to many of the evils attending his father's narrow mode of government, and he learnt lessons by which he has since endeavoured to profit. But these foreign influences were drawing him aside from the rigorous military traditions of the Russian Court, and were thereby preparing trouble for him at home. His liberal tendencies provoked the displeasure of the old Russian party, whose conservatism was of the narrowest and most uncompromising type. There were ominous forebodings for the future. It was feared that the old Russian party might dispute his claim to the succession, and endeavour to set upon the throne his younger brother Constantine—a man much more to their mind. The fears and suspicions thus awakened caused distrust between the brothers, which at times broke out in open quarrels. On one occasion, Constantine, who was Admiral of the fleet, went so far as to put his elder brother under arrest, and thereby drew upon himself the anger of his father. On the birth, in 1843, of Alexander's first child, Nicolas obliged Constantine to swear fidelity to his brother, an act which he had subsequently to repeat beside the death-bed of his father

In 1850 the Czarevich paid a visit to the South of Russia, through which he made a two months' tour, concluded by a skirmish against the Circassians of the Caucasus. For his conduct in this affair he obtained the Order of St. George from his father, on the request of Prince Worontzoff, who had been a witness of the adventure. It is believed that he was opposed, a few years later, to the conduct of Nicolas, when he brought the country into the Crimean War, and it is certain that when, in 1855, he succeeded his father on the throne, he took the earliest opportunity of making peace with the Allies. It was on the 2nd of March that the Emperor Nicolas died, a worn-out, broken-hearted man, constrained at the last,

it is said, to acknowledge that his system had been a failure, and succumbing prematurely to the stroke of death "among the wreck of all his idols." He summoned his two sons to his bedside, and obtained from both a solemn promise to remain united to each other for the sake of their country's welfare. Alexander declared his intention to assume the government, and when Nicolas died he was immediately proclaimed Emperor. His accession was celebrated by an amnesty to those Poles who had been exiled for revolt against Nicolas, and by a manifesto to the nation, indicating his adherence to the policy of his father, and his intention to uphold the glory of the empire, as it had been upheld by the most illustrious of his predecessors. He swore "to remain faithful to all the sentiments of his father, and to persevere in that line of policy which had served to guide him." His position was a difficult one: he inherited a situation that he had not made, and a policy he could not in his heart approve. The manifesto we have quoted he was obliged to make, in order to satisfy the desires of the war-party, and to pay a certain homage to the old Russian sentiment. But his declaration was couched in general terms, and it did not long remain a secret that, under his somewhat vague professions, he concealed opinions very different from his father's. At first, indeed, he could do no less than prosecute the war with vigour. He summoned General Rudiger from Warsaw, and placed him over the Imperial Guards, which had till then been under his own command. He renewed the powers of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, and through them made known his adherence to the former declarations of Prince Gortschakoff on behalf of Nicolas. He visited the Crimea in the course of the same year, inspected his army at Sebastopol, and issued orders for a further and most extensive levy. But all this zeal covered a real desire to bring the conflict to a close, so that no sooner did the capture of Kars occur, to compensate in some degree for the loss of Sebastopol, than the Emperor seized the opportunity to take steps towards peace. He accepted the conditions of the Allies, and sent plenipotentiaries to Paris to carry forward the negotiations, declaring, at the same time, that he desired for the future to bestow his attention upon the internal interests of the empire.

This announcement was no empty form of words. The national affairs were in a lamentable state. The war had drained the land of its resources, and the system of government pursued by Nicolas had culminated in confusion. There was abundant scope for every species of reform, and the new Emperor applied himself with zeal to the task that lay before him. His position was one of more than ordinary difficulty, even for a Russian Czar. His uncle Alexander's reign had been marked by the inauguration of many wide reforms, but the circumstances of his latter years had paralysed his efforts. The rule of Nicolas had given a check to every measure of reform. The universities instituted by Alexander I. had been rendered well-nigh powerless by the foolish decrees of his successor, who limited the number of the students, and ordered the professors in the educational institutions at St. Petersburg to be selected from among the higher officers of the army. The public service was rotten to the core, and the military system had completely broken down. The new Czar set himself to correct all such defects. He began by endeavouring to purge the administration from corruption. His travels in other countries had made him aware of the abuses under which the Russian system suffered, and of the dangers which such abuses inevitably entailed; and he resolved to do his best to put them down. In this he was assisted by the public feeling of the country, which was aroused from lethargy by the Crimean War; and, although the enthusiasm of the movement has somewhat subsided since, it is undeniable that the Czar's endeavours have had a lasting effect.

He next reduced the army to the lowest limits consistent with the requirements of the empire, and laboured to promote the industry and commerce of the country at the same time that he bestowed attention upon its finances. But in nothing did he show himself more zealous than in his efforts to improve the education of his people. In this he followed the example of his uncle Alexander, who had established universities, founded schools, and done his best to encourage scientific enterprises. The second Alexander had from his earliest years been intimately associated with educational affairs. He had been named Chancellor of the University of Finland before he was eight years old, although he could not discharge the duties of the office until he came of age. But, once arrived at manhood, he did not allow the post to remain a sinecure. On his return to Russia after his marriage, he applied himself with diligence to the duties of his position; and by his assiduity and liberality on behalf of the education of the province, he gained the affections of the Finns for the Imperial house. He founded a chair of Finnish language and literature in the university, gave his patronage to the Academy of Finnish Literature, and supported out of his own private means a number of investigations and expeditions undertaken by Finnish savants. After the death of the Grand Duke Michel Paulovich he was made director of the imperial military schools. This office he fulfilled with so much zeal as to win the praise of even Nicolas himself, who thanked him for the care he took to bring up the youth of the country "in the genuine Russian spirit." His attention to education after his accession to the throne is therefore not surprising. He endeavoured to place the colleges of Russia on a footing with the best in Europe On the 8th of September, 1855, the day succeeding that of his coronation, a new faculty of Oriental Languages was inaugurated at the University of St. Petersburg. In October he abolished the limit placed by Nicolas on the number of students at the universities, and, in the following February, he reversed another enactment of his father's, by declaring that, in future, military men should not be appointed to chairs of education in civil establishments. Finally, a ukase published in the end of May, 1856, placed the administration of public education under the direct and personal superintendence of the Emperor.

But the most memorable of his reforms is the emancipation of the serfs. Alexander I. and Nicolas had both desired, but been unable, to effect it: and its accomplishment is due to the energy and courage of the present Czar As early as 1856, immediately after the proclamation of peace, he endeavoured to sound the feeling of the nation on the subject, as he was aware that it had begun to occupy the attention of the nobility. But the hints he ventured to throw out at that time were not received with zeal, and he discovered that the responsibility of action in the matter must rest entirely upon himself. One of the foremost difficulties at starting was the fact that it would be necessary to give the emancipated peasants land, in order to prevent the confusion that would result if they were allowed to wander about the country; and land for this purpose could only be obtained by taking it away from the proprietors. The Czar's first step was to appoint a secret committee of the great officers of state to consider the principles on which the emancipation should be effected. But this "Chief Committee for Peasant Affairs," as it was called, did not proceed with sufficient activity in its task: so a circular was prepared and sent throughout the provinces, empowering the proprietors to form committees for the consideration of the matter. Such a hint from the autocratic power was equivalent to a command which the nobles could not afford to overlook The result was awaited with anxiety. The Press hailed the proposal with enthusiasm, and an abolitionist fervour was aroused among the nobles themselves The conclusions of the provincial committees were submitted to an Imperial Commission, which was to elaborate a general scheme to be approved of by the Czar.

It was this commission that really framed the Emancipation Law Many of the proprietors offered a good deal of opposition to the proposals, but this was of little avail. The final conclusions of the commission were accepted by the Emperor, and passed into law with no fundamental changes. The decree was signed on the 19th of February, 1861; and thus, at one stroke of the pen, more than twenty million serfs were freed. A manifesto containing the provisions of the measure was circulated throughout the empire, and ordered to be read in all the churches. For particulars we must refer to the work of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace,* who has devoted several chapters to a consideration of this question.

Two other notable reforms remain to be considered before we pass to other subjects. The first of these is the reorganisation of the judicial system—a gigantic task, which must have taxed the Emperor's energy and perseverance hardly less than the emancipation of the serfs itself. Under the former system there were no law courts such as we understand by the term. The procedure in the best of cases was secret and insufferably slow, while corruption and inefficiency were almost universal. A commission was set to work upon the subject, and had for its result the promulgation of an Imperial enactment on the 29th of September, 1862, containing the principles on which the new judicial system was to be established The legislation founded upon these principles was confirmed by the Emperor on the 20th of November, 1864. The old procedure was completely swept away, and an entirely new system established, which is simple in construction and symmetrical in form. The judicial was completely separated from the other branches of the administration; the most ample publicity was provided for the tribunals, jury trials being introduced for criminal cases, while Justice of the Peace Courts were created for petty affairs. For further details of the system we must again refer to Mr. Wallace's "Russia" (Vol. II., ch. xxxiii). The good effects of this reform have, on the whole, been great, though in practice it is as yet very far from perfect. Moreover, it does not even profess to secure to every man a hearing or a trial, for, alongside of the organisation of the law courts, the so-called "administrative procedure" still survives, which enables the Government to arrest an individual on suspicion, and to remove him without a trial to a distant town, where he is compelled to live under the supervision of the police; and the Government is not slow to adopt this course in cases where a regular trial might be inconvenient. The other great reform referred to was also carried through in 1864, though it was not until the following year that it came into operation. This was the establishment of elective assemblies for the local self-government of the provinces, districts, and municipalities. The members are elected indifferently from among the peasants or the nobles, and to their care are consigned all matters of merely local interest. They impose taxation in their districts, and adopt such measures as its welfare may seem to demand The inauguration of these assemblies was at first regarded as a tentative measure, to be followed by the creation of a representative parliament for the empire; and accordingly, in January, 1865, many of the nobles petitioned the Czar in favour of such a scheme. But this was peremptorily declined. The Emperor was desirous to effect reforms in his dominions, but it was no part of the Imperial pleasure in any way to diminish the absolute supremacy of its own authority.

The same determination to preserve intact the power of the Imperial will, and to consolidate the empire under the one strong hand of the Czar, has been manifested in Alexander's

* "Russia," Vol. II.

dealings with disaffection in his dominions. This has been especially the case with his treatment of the Poles. The natural humanity of his disposition has at times inclined him to act with clemency and make concessions; while, on the other hand, his determination to maintain his own authority unimpaired, and to carry out a policy of unity and centralisation in his empire, has induced him to extinguish with severity, and even cruelty, the national aspirations of the Poles, whenever they were too decidedly opposed to the Imperial will. Very early he gave the Poles to understand what his policy towards them would be. The limited amnesty, published soon after his accession to the throne, applied only to those exiles who showed repentance for the part they had taken in the revolt of 1830–31, while even to them it did not restore their confiscated goods; and it was followed some time after by a speech of the Czar to the nobility at Warsaw, in which he clearly announced his intention to repress inordinate aspirations. "Above all," he said, "no dreams! I shall be able to hold to their duty those who persist in fostering illusions. Finland and Poland are as dear to me as all the other provinces of my empire, but for the good of the Poles themselves it is essential that they remain for ever united to the great family of the Russian Czars. I would rather recompense than punish, but at need I shall know how to use severity, and severity I shall use" The events of the next few years unhappily gave him an opportunity of making good his declaration. Poland soon became his chief embarrassment. From the beginning of 1861 till the beginning of 1864 the whole country was seething with revolt, which, though it appeared at times to be suppressed, always broke out anew upon the smallest provocation. The origin of this disturbance seems to have been connected with certain concessions the Czar had granted to the Poles, which roused the national spirit without satisfying its demands. In February, 1861, a popular demonstration occurred on the battle-field of Cracow, to commemorate the struggle of 1831. The gathering was rudely dispersed by the military, and several persons were killed in the fray. Great excitement was occasioned by their funeral, and the population generally went into mourning. An address was forwarded to the Czar by 60,000 Poles, and reforms were promised by the Government. Poland was to be re-established as a separate kingdom, and its educational system reorganised. A Council of State was formed, consisting of the principal citizens and high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and elective councils and municipalities were to be formed throughout the country. But these large promises were not all kept, and the disturbances broke out afresh, fostered greatly by minute and oppressive regulations with regard to national customs and attire. The difficulties increased, till, towards the end of 1862, insurrection was almost universal. On the night of the 22nd of January, 1863, a violent outbreak occurred at Warsaw, during which many Russians were put to death by the insurgents. This was the signal for a fiercer struggle than ever. Poland was declared in a state of siege by the Russians, while, on the side of the Poles, a secret provisional government was formed, which directed every movement of the insurgents, but contrived to keep itself and all its doings completely in the dark The wild guerilla warfare which was carried on all through that spring provoked the Czar and his representatives to acts of cruelty and oppression. The Czar had offered an amnesty to all who should lay down their arms before a certain date. But this proposal was rejected by the Poles, and the strife continued as before. The Poles set up claims of national independence which the Russians would not grant, and the Russians endeavoured by violence to break the neck of the revolt. This state of matters attracted the attention of the whole of Europe, and in France, Italy, and England profound sympathy was excited by the struggles of the Poles. The Governments of these three countries at length

interposed, and endeavoured to stay the avenging hand of Russia, but the intervention was in vain. The Emperor and his Government would brook no interference: they were determined to chastise the insurgents into submission. So negotiation ceased, and the combatants were left alone to fight it out. By the beginning of 1864 the revolt was nearly crushed, Russia having obtained once more the upper hand. In June, a proclamation of the Czar allowed the Poles who had fled abroad to return to Poland, provided they had committed no capital offence;* and a few measures of reform were adopted by the Government. But acts of clemency like these were but interludes between cruelty and rigour. The alternations of oppression and indulgence had a mischievous effect, causing new troubles which required new severity to put them down. The Polish language was interdicted in all public places; the Poles were incapacitated from acquiring titles to landed property, and nobility was conferred upon the Russians who purchased the confiscated estates. Poland itself was designated "The Vistula Province" in the Imperial decrees, and early in 1868 its separate Government was abolished, and entire union effected with the rest of the Russian Empire. His treatment of the Poles is generally regarded as the greatest blot upon the Czar's reputation for humanity; and, certainly, he quelled the rising with a heavy hand. It is easy to enter into the feeling of the Poles, who clung with desperate persistence to their nationality, and to sympathise with their efforts for independence, which seemed so just and proved so ineffectual. But Russia's oppressive attitude towards Poland had now become traditional, and was by this time hardly separable from the national policy. Justly or unjustly, Poland had been subdued in the past, and it was hardly to be expected that a Russian Czar, be he ever so humane, would be willing to give way at the moment of revolt. Nor would it have been safe for him to do so. The Poles had appealed to the sword, and they must abide by its decision. And it is but fair to add that since the final and effectual suppression of the revolt, and the thorough incorporation of Poland with the rest of Russia, the Emperor has shown himself inclined towards clemency, as far as the national policy would permit.

The Czar is credited with a lively interest in European questions, and he has not been so wholly engrossed with internal affairs as to be unable to take his part in the general policy of the Continent. The famous utterance of Prince Gortschakoff, "La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille," which may be taken seriously as the key to the Imperial policy, occurred in a vigorous circular to the Western Powers on the affairs of Sicily, at the time of the Neapolitan revolution. During the Cretan insurrection the Czar was active in affording relief to the persecuted Christians of the island, and, by his orders, many were rescued from the Turks in Russian ships of war. In 1870 a circular of Prince Gortschakoff's, announcing that his Sovereign would no longer hold himself bound by the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of 1856, caused considerable excitement in Europe. It only led, however, to the Conference of London in 1871, in which the Powers that had been parties to the Treaty of Paris consented to the abrogation of the neutrality of the Black Sea, and thus virtually granted all the Czar's demands.

In Asia events have from time to time necessitated a policy of aggression. An eighteen months' campaign in Turkestan led to the conquest of Bokhara in 1868, and in 1873 the Khan of Khiva was forced by General Kaufmann to submit to Russian rule. Still later, in 1876, as the result of another campaign, the whole of the territory of Khokand was annexed to Russia. On the other hand, in 1867 the Czar sold his possessions in North America to the United States, for the sum of £1,100,000.

The Franco-Prussian War, which has caused such important and extensive changes in the rest of Europe, has had for its result in Russia the reorganisation of the military system, which has been recast after the German pattern, on the basis of universal liability to service. The splendid achievements which their organisation had enabled the Prussians to accomplish caused a movement of military reform throughout all Continental Europe, and notwithstanding the pacific professions and (we may well believe) intentions of the Czar, it was not long before its influence was felt in Russia. The Minister of War was commanded by the Emperor to prepare a new scheme of military service, and a Commission was appointed to draw up the law. An Imperial ukase issued on the 1st of January, 1874, announced that the movement initiated by the Czar had met with loyal and patriotic support from the nobility, who had hitherto been, as a class, exempt from service, and stated that the new military law was now prepared, and would be immediately enforced. All young men alike, with very few exceptions, were declared liable to serve after arriving at their twentieth year, but considerable deductions from the period of active service were made in the case of those who had attended the universities and schools. Not long after the publication of this decree, on the 23rd of January, 1874, the Grand-Duchess Marie was married at St. Petersburg to H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, and in May of the same year the Czar paid a visit to this country, where he met with a warm reception.

It was in 1874, also, that certain proposals of the Czar's brought about a conference at Brussels, with a view to establish a general understanding among European nations, as to the usages to be allowed in war. Its results, however, amounted to little more than mere recommendations of a Committee of Inquiry.

Into the history of the recent war with Turkey it is unnecessary to enter here. The events which led to it, from the first insurrection of the Christian subjects of the Porte to the failure of all attempts at negotiation with the Sultan, and the rupture between Russia and Turkey, on the 24th of April, 1877, will be fresh in the memory of all, as well as the details of the lamentable struggle that ensued, down to its final termination by the Treaty of Berlin. The contest followed too soon after the promulgation of the new military law to afford a fair criterion of its merits or success.

The life of the Czar has been twice attempted: once at St. Petersburg in 1866, when he was fired at by a workman, while getting into his carriage, on which occasion a peasant turned aside the pistol of the assassin and was ennobled for the act; and again, at Paris, in 1867, when a Pole, named Berezowski, fired into the carriage in which the Czar and his two sons were riding with the Emperor Napoleon. The attempt was a determined one, but nobody was hurt.

Alexander II married, as we have already stated, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, on the 28th of April, 1841, and has had a numerous family. His eldest son the late Czarevich, Nicolas, was born on the 20th of September, 1843, and died prematurely at Nice, on the 24th of April, 1865. The present Czarevich, Alexander, was born in 1845, and is married to the Princess Dagmar of Denmark. The only daughter of the Czar is the Grand-Duchess Marie, who is now a member of our own Royal household.



OSMAN PASHA.

GHAZI OSMAN PASHA.

AMONGST the names which have been recorded on the roll of heroes of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78—and they are not few—none stand so prominently forward as that of Osman Pasha, whose dogged and successful resistance to the Russians has called forth world-wide admiration. A thorough Turk in descent, he has displayed to the fullest extent those qualities for which his race has for centuries been famous, and his undaunted courage and unbounded patriotism have earned for him the respect of all nations. The spectacle of Turkey single-handed combating the allied forces of Russia and the Slav States, was one for which Europe was quite unprepared. Those who spoke of the effete condition of the Turk stood aghast at the prolonged and heroic resistance maintained against the fierce attacks of her northern enemy, whose gigantic resources, it was predicted, would crush all opposition at the first onslaught. The result, disastrous though it was to the Ottoman Empire, was not achieved on the part of Russia without an enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure. Indeed, had Turkey possessed other commanders of the calibre of Osman Pasha, it is more than likely that the tide of invasion would have been rolled back across the Danube, and the terms of peace settled on Russian territory instead of at first within sight of Stamboul, and subsequently at Berlin.

Osman was born in the year 1832 at Amasia, a town in Asia Minor situated on either bank of the Yeshil-Irmak—the river Iris of ancient geography—about eighty miles from its mouth. Amasia is the capital of the vilayet of Sivas, and was long the seat of the Osmanli Sultans. Strabo, the geographer, was born there, and the rock-hewn tombs of the kings of Pontus are still to be seen in the vicinity. In the neighbourhood are copper and silver mines. The chief productions are silk, wine, cotton, corn, tobacco, and madder, and it has a population of 25,000.

The parents of Osman were poor, and his brother kept a school, at which the youthful hero was taught the Koran, that essential element of a Mohamedan's education, the doctrines of which are from the earliest age inculcated in the minds of the youth. To the tenets of their religion may be traced the Islam scorn of death, and the Kismit it teaches is ever present to sustain them under vicissitudes. Osman early showed a predilection for a military career, and by means of local interest he obtained admission to the military academy at Constantinople, where he completed his education. His energy in study, and determination to overcome all obstacles, soon brought him to the notice of his superiors, and at the age of twenty-one he was rewarded with a commission, and entered on a career of active service shortly after, which has continued ever since. Amongst his fellow-pupils at the military college were Mehemet Ali and Suleiman, both of whom became his brothers in arms, and shared with him the dangers of the field, and took part in the fierce struggle for the liberty of Turkey. Mehemet Ali, a German by blood and birth, became a famous leader in the Ottoman

army, and met his death at the hands of the Albanian insurgents during the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, while Suleiman continued till recently at Constantinople amongst the staff; but, in consequence of his conduct in the war, he was, in November, 1878, tried by court martial, found guilty of numerous military offences, and sentenced to be interned in a fortress for five years. Suleiman, while acting alone, succeeded for a lengthened period in defending the Balkan passes, and his skill as a commander was shown on many occasions; but his great fault lay in his recklessness

Two years after Osman took up his appointment the war-cloud which had been gathering in Southern Europe for a long period of years burst with fearful violence, and the campaign of 1855-6, when those memorable deeds which will ever live in European history were enacted, brought the young officer to the field.

Attached to the general head-quarter staff at Shumla, he was brought into contact with many of the English and French commanders who won fame in the Crimea, and the lessons he learnt in those days in the various branches of the art of war have stood him in good stead. The defeats inflicted by Omar Pasha on the Russians at Oltenitza, Kalafat, and Eupatoria, proved at the time the fighting quality of the Turk. Under this able leader, with whom he subsequently served in Crete, Osman acquired much to aid him in his future high commands. He devoted himself to the remodelling of the Turkish army, and the contingent raised and drilled by British officers during the Crimean hostilities formed a *nucleus* for him to work on. This force consisted of about 10,000 men drawn from the militia of the empire, and the members were for the most part quite unacquainted with military discipline, with the exception of what they had learnt during a short and very imperfect term of training. The admirable condition to which they were brought after a very brief exercise under efficient officers conclusively showed how much might be justly expected from Turkish reserves, and Osman was quick to perceive the excellence of the material at hand for warlike purposes. Many of these troops took an active part in the successful defence of Silistria, and it needed but a little more discipline to transform them into soldiers capable of creditably holding their own in any European warfare. It may safely be said, and, indeed, is the opinion of many British officers of high standing and great experience, that the Turks possess qualifications eminently calculated to fit them for favourable comparison with the best soldiers of other countries. This opinion has been fully borne out by recent events. With reference to the Turkish contingent, it may be remarked that no new system was introduced by the officers entrusted with its organisation. The old drill was maintained, but greater tact in handling the men produced a degree of steadiness which led to the most successful results. The quick perception of the men with regard to the object of manœuvres was particularly noticeable, and their excellence as marksmen was proverbial. The great want in the army of the Sultan is good officers, and there can be no doubt that this is the weak point of the Turkish system A few brilliant exceptions, such as Osman Pasha, occasionally occur; but there is no disguising the fact that the subordinate officers, either from a want of proper training, or being drawn from too low a social sphere, place the rank and file in a less formidable position than they ought to occupy.

The Franco-German war proved that this was not confined to the Turkish Empire; and some European nations might profit by the experience gained in that war, which terminated so disastrously for France

In his admirable history of the invasion of the Crimea, Mr. Kinglake l to the deeds of the Turkish soldiery, and in his account of the [illegible]nce of S

"By diligent fighting on the hillside, by sapping close up to the ditch, by springing mines, which more than once blew in the counterscarp and levelled the parapet, by storming it in the daytime, by storming it at night, the Russians strove hard to carry the work, but when they sprang a mine they ever found that behind the ruins the Turks stood retrenched; and whether they stormed it by day or by night, their masses were always met fiercely, were always driven back with a cruel slaughter." The effect of the presence of European officers was on this occasion particularly apparent. "On the side of the Turks, Mussa Pasha, who commanded the garrison, was killed, but Butler and Nasmyth, now obeyed with a touching affection and trustfulness by the Ottoman soldiery, were equal to the historic occasion which they had the fortune and the spirit to seize. It seemed that the presence of these youths was all that was needed for making of the Moslem hordes a faithful and devoted soldiery. Upon ground known to be mined, they stood as tranquilly as upon any hillside. It was impossible not to admire the cool indifference of the Turks to danger. Three men were shot in the space of five minutes while throwing up earth for the new parapet, at which only two men could work at a time so as to be at all protected; and they were succeeded by the nearest by-stander, who took the spade from the dying man's hands and set to work as calmly as if he were going to cut a ditch by the roadside. Indeed, the childlike trust which these men were able to put in their young English leaders, so freed them from all doubt and question concerning the wisdom of the orders given, that they joyfully abandoned themselves to the rapture of fighting for religion, and grew so enamoured of death, so enamoured of the very blackness of the grave, that sometimes in the pauses of the fight a pious Mussulman, intent on close fighting and blissful thoughts of Paradise, would come up with a pickaxe in hand, would speak some touching words of devotion and gratitude to Butler and Nasmyth, and then proudly fall to work to dig for himself the last home, where he charged his comrades to lay him as soon as he attained to die."

Osman's capacity obtained rapid recognition, and at the outbreak of the Cretan insurrection in 1866 he was selected to proceed to the island. From the rank of captain in the Imperial Guard—which he held at that time—he was rapidly promoted step by step, until he attained a colonelcy. With his advance his energy increased, and the position giving him more scope for the exercise of his talents, his services were so valuable that at the conclusion of the war and the subduing of the insurgents he was made a brigadier-general, and placed in command of the Syrian corps d'armée. The vigorous stand made by the insurgents brought many a severe lesson to the Turks, and taught them the value of earthworks, which they were not slow to recognise *

More or less engaged in active administration in those principalities where the seeds of revolt were ever present, Osman at the outbreak of war with Servia in 1876 was at Widdin as commandant. He took an active part in the subsequent operations, and for exceptionally brilliant conduct at the battle of Saitschar was created "Mushir," or Field-Marshal, after a service of twenty-three years. The continuous struggle for independence by the Slav populations of the tributary Christian States, and the unwillingness of Turkey to brook foreign interference in her internal affairs, soon brought matters to a crisis, and on the intervention of Russia on behalf of her co-religionists, war was declared between the two countries, and

* Many attempts have been made to show that Osman, during the Cretan Insurrection, was guilty of barbarity; but nothing more than strict adherence to military rule can be proved.

active operations almost immediately commenced. Osman was still at Widdin; but on the Russians successfully making the passage of the Danube, he marched to the relief of Nicopolis, which was surrounded, but taking advantage of an oversight of the enemy, and finding himself unable to then serve the beleaguered garrison, he hastened to Plevna, which he entered on the 14th July, 1877. His great strategic skill displayed itself in the choice of this point to make a stand. Situated between Widdin and Rustchuk, on the direct road to the passes leading into Turkey south of the Balkans, the presence there of a force such as Osman had, effectually prevented the Russians from moving forward towards Adrianople, and ultimately Stamboul. The main body of the Czar's troops after crossing the river were almost unmolested, and General Gourko by great dash effected the passage of the Balkans. Tirnova was taken and Sistova occupied. But Osman's position rendered these successes of no avail.

The capacity for striking in any direction which the position of Plevna gave, kept the enemy ever on the watch, paralysed and uncertain whence they might be attacked. A great Turkish victory at this period of the war would have been eminently disastrous to the Russians, and they were compelled to stay their advance until sufficient reinforcements arrived to enable them to completely invest the town, which became the scene of Osman's greatest exploits. The experience gained in its assault has completely revolutionised that portion of the art of war relating to the attack and defence of entrenched camps, and the ineffectual bombardment of Plevna proved that artillery fire can be rendered useless by earthworks constructed on scientific principles

The campaign of 1866, by Prussia against Austria, in which the needle-gun proved so effectual, caused a sudden change in the armament of soldiers throughout the civilised world, and the immense superiority of the breech-loader as a weapon for both offensive and defensive purposes has been fully proved since then by many a bloody field.

The numerous inventions in military rifles have produced weapons almost as superior to the needle-gun as that was to the old muzzle-loader, and the adoption of the Martini-Peabody by the Turks, a similar rifle to that with which British soldiers are armed, placed them in a very advantageous position for the purposes of defence. The raw levies of the Sultan behind earthworks provided with this deadly and rapid-shooting rifle, were enabled to hurl back with terrific slaughter again and again the hosts of the enemy, who rushed with unavailing determination and mad impetuosity on the redoubts. Osman's rare skill as an engineer enabled him in an incredibly short space of time to convert the open town of Plevna into an invulnerable encampment. On the 21th and 31st of July, ten and seventeen days respectively after he had entered the town, he repulsed two vigorous attacks of the Russians, and inflicted such losses as to cripple them for some time for aggressive movements. He made little use of his artillery, and is said to have remarked that he could have got on just as well without it, the rifle being all that was required to successfully repulse the attacks made on him.

Reinforced by the Roumanians, the Russian commander in September renewed the attack, but with the same result—failure—his losses amounting to no less than 25,000 men. On the 11th of that month, a combined movement was made in the presence of the Czar, who was assured of witnessing the triumphs of his troops. General Skobeloff succeeded in capturing three redoubts, but they were re-taken the following day, while the Roumanians suffered heavy losses before the famous Gravitza redoubt The advance of the Russians was paralysed, and for a time Constantinople was safe, the main body of the enemy being held completely in check. Osman, when he found the enemy abandoning their system of direct assault, and reverting

to that of investment, telegraphed to Constantinople for instructions to retreat, or reinforcements, knowing full well that in time he must succumb if he held his position. To his appeals, which daily became more urgent, he received direct orders to hold Plevna to the last, and on no account to retire. He faithfully did his duty, but again urged the necessity of despatching reinforcements to his aid. At last, Suleiman Pasha, the former fellow-pupil of Osman, was entrusted with this task, but his reckless conduct brought only disaster, and the defenders of Plevna were left to their fate.

One of the greatest obstacles to the advancement of Turkey is undoubtedly to be found in the prevalence of intrigues within the Sultan's Palace. From the Seraglio proceed those frequent changes which stifle the energy of reformers; and to the baneful influence it possesses may be traced all the evils of Ottoman misrule. Everything gives way to personal feelings. Private jealousies are imported into the most important public acts. The highest officers of the empire are constantly at variance, through the distrust which is universal. Their tenure of office depends not on their ability or public opinion, but on the favour of the Harem. Under these circumstances it rarely happens that either soldier or diplomatist escapes unscathed. To gain popular favour to such an extent as to place him beyond the reach of unscrupulous and unpatriotic rivals is an almost unknown occurrence, but Osman Pasha may justly be said to have reached that eminence. No better example of the effect of the jealousy of the Pashas can be given than the acts of Suleiman after he was entrusted with the command of the troops so tardily sent to relieve Plevna. His country was struggling with the energy of despair against an overwhelming combination of relentless foes. Beaten on all sides but one, the fate of Turkey hung on the result of Osman's defence. The popular voice called aloud for energetic action while there was yet time, and the demand for men was responded to in a manner beyond all praise. Notwithstanding all this, Suleiman, jealous of the successes of his comrade in arms and fellow-pupil, was guilty of wantonly pursuing a course of action which he knew would cause the failure of the object of his despatch. His brave soldiers were sacrificed by thousands in useless and insane manœuvres. His utter imbecility ruined his country, and his want of patriotism must ever be considered as a stain on his character which nothing will efface. A correspondent, writing at the time, remarked that Russia could wish for no better ally than the Seraskierat Council. It is composed of a cliqne whose sole object appears to be to thrust their favourites upon the country, and thwart rather than aid competent and experienced generals.

The reverses of the Russians necessitated a change of commanders in their forces, and General Todleben, whose gallant defence of Sebastopol had won him fame as an engineer, was despatched to take charge of the siege operations against Plevna. He adopted the only tactics likely to succeed, and determined to starve into surrender the gallant men who defied all attempts at assault. Slowly but surely the circle around the devoted town was contracted, and all communication cut off. The supplies of the defenders grew daily smaller and smaller; rations were gradually reduced until the quantity doled out was just and only sufficient to maintain life. Osman himself shared all the ills of the time Personally he superintended the works, and his presence was sufficient to restore confidence to the starving men. Notwithstanding the state of more than semi-starvation existing in Plevna, there were no signs of surrender, and the excitement which prevailed in Europe was strained to the greatest point. The capacity of the Turkish soldier to subsist on almost nothing astonished the world. The quantity of supplies was known, the number of people behind the entrenchments accurately ascertained, and statisticians, with the usual energy of their class, set about to calculate the proportions of food

available, and to predict the date of surrender. But the people who had been brought up in a faith which commands periods of lengthened fasting, faithfully observed by its followers, defied calculation. Days lengthened into weeks, and weeks into months, and still Plevna held out. The only aid Osman received was forwarded from Sophia, by way of Orkhanie, namely, some convoys under Sufket Pasha. But in November this road was interrupted by General Gourko, and the heroic defence was rapidly drawing to a close. Disappointed in his hopes of relief, Osman at last decided to sally forth, and by one supreme effort try to break through the ring of steel which encircled him. Laying his plans with consummate skill, and directing a feint in one direction, he advanced with the main body in another, and strove, with the energy of despair, to escape. On the morning of the 10th December, 1877, Osman sallied forth at the head of his troops, followed by the inhabitants, and dashed with great determination on the enemy's positions. During the night he had evacuated the positions east of the Vid, and withdrawn all his forces to the western side of the river, where they remained preparatory to the final attempt to escape He had executed this movement so skilfully and secretly, that the first intimation the Russians received of his intentions was through a deserter. This man entered their lines at four o'clock in the morning, and brought the news that the Krishine redoubt which he had just left was abandoned. A movement was at once made towards the work, which was occupied, and everything got ready to resist the Turks. The artillery and transport trains from Plevna were on the Sophia road, waiting for a passage to be made by the infantry for their exit. As soon as there was sufficient light to distinguish objects, Osman ordered a demonstration to be made against the Roumanian lines in the direction of Orpanes Shumla; at the same time he himself directed a column against the Russian positions to the right of the Sophia road, the real object of attack. This column was composed of the Turkish Imperial Guard, and the men, personally led by the Commander-in-Chief, rushed with an impetuosity which carried all before it on one of the redoubts, which was captured together with the six guns forming its armament, almost annihilating those regiments of Russian Grenadiers who were opposed to them. A large portion of the artillery of the enemy was brought to bear on this point, and after an hour's bombardment it was re-captured. The battle raged furiously for six hours The main body of the Turkish army was massed in the valley of the Vid. The heights surrounding them were crowned by the enemy's batteries, which poured an incessant storm of shot and shell on the devoted band. Osman had done all an able general could do; but spies had done their work; his plan of operations had been revealed, and the Russian forces were massed directly against him, while the feint was allowed to proceed almost unheeded. Mowed down by the withering fire of entrenched troops, the brave Turks who had penetrated the Russian line of entrenchments and batteries were checked at the last point; thousands fell facing the enemy, and at last, Osman being himself wounded, the order was given to retire to the town. In the meantime, while the Turks had been held in check in front, a force of Roumanians had gone round, and taken up a position in their rear. On Osman endeavouring to retreat, he found the enemy behind him, and, taken on all sides, was obliged to surrender with 40,000 men, the flower of the Turkish army. General Granetzky received the sword of the gallant Turk, who, though wounded personally, conducted the negotiations for the capitulation Thus ended the siege of Plevna, which stands in the first rank of historical defences

During the fighting on the 10th December, the Russians lost nearly 2,000 men, while the killed and wounded on the Turkish side amounted to some 6,000. Seventy thousand

stand of arms fell into the hands of the captors, and by the surrender of Plevna an allied Russian and Roumanian army of over 100,000 men, which had been held stationary for five months, was released to continue the invasion. Servia also, emboldened by the now helpless condition of the Ottoman Empire, declared war, and added to the forces massed against the Turks A few days previous to the capture of Osman, Suleiman Pasha had succeeded in taking Elena by a brisk and well-devised attack. His failure, therefore, to relieve the town was all the more surprising, as he had shown himself capable of devising operations with no mean amount of skill. One of the main causes which led to Osman's attempt to break out, was the fact that an epidemic had made its appearance amongst the inhabitants. The mortality was increasing at a fearful rate and threatened to attack the soldiers, in order to save whom he determined to assume the aggressive.

One of the most admirable traits in the character of Osman was the unvaried courtesy he displayed towards the foreigners who were by circumstances placed in his camp. Throwing aside the fanaticism which is so liable to outweigh every other consideration, his bearing was at all times consistent, and he fully appreciated the aid of that invaluable institution, the Red Cross Society, to the members of which, unlike other Turkish generals, he invariably gave every possible aid. Eight hundred sick and wounded, attended by Greek doctors, were found in the town, together with a large number of persons wearing the badge of the Society—sufficient evidence to confute any statements to the effect that the General was averse to receive aid for his wounded and suffering men.

Osman, who had received the title of "Ghazi" (or the Victorious) from the Sultan, became after the fall of Plevna a prisoner of war in the hands of the Russians, but he was treated with the greatest courtesy by his conquerors, and his sword was returned to him by the Czar, who gave strict orders for his careful treatment. The most gratifying proof of the impression his bravery had made on his foes, and the one most touching to the gallant soldier, must have been the respect with which he was received by the Russian and Roumanian soldiers on his entry a captive into their lines. His stubborn resistance had gained their admiration, and friend and foe alike vied to render him honour, the men spontaneously, and in silence, saluting the wounded hero

Notwithstanding the courtesy displayed towards the captive chief, it is astonishing to note that on his arrival at St. Petersburg steps were taken to try him for the alleged ill-treatment of prisoners taken by him at Plevna, and the efforts that were made to bring obloquy on his fame caused great and just surprise. No action, however, seems to have been taken, and Osman Pasha was amongst the first Turks sent back to Constantinople on the exchange of prisoners. The statement to the effect that he had committed suicide while in Russia, gave colour to the report that he had been ill-treated. But, in justice to the Czar, it should be said that no confirmation in the slightest degree was forthcoming of these allegations.

The eminent services rendered by Osman to his country were fully recognised by the Sultan, who conferred on him many distinguishing marks of honour; while the city of Constantinople presented him with a golden tablet. On his return to Turkey, Osman was placed in command of the defences of Stamboul, and at once set to work, in conjunction with Baker Pasha to strengthen them, and by his exertions he soon formed entrenchments, which drew the attention of the Russians. His energetic nature could not be baulked, and under his directions operations were continued during the night, to the great annoyance of the Russians,

who wished to have Constantinople completely at their mercy, an end likely to be frustrated if he were permitted to continue his line of defences.

The treaty of Berlin and subsequent withdrawal of the troops of the Czar from San Stefano relieved Turkey to a great extent from her troubles; and although an immense amount of territory has been lost to her, she still holds an important position in Europe. The career of Osman Pasha, and the mighty deeds his example incited those under him to do, must have a great influence on the future conduct of affairs regarding the vexed Eastern Question, which has for so many years been the cause of serious troubles between Russia and her European neighbours, as well as with England. The alliance of Turkey will now be looked on as not quite useless, and must weigh heavily in favour of the nation to which it is given. For, backed up by money and good officers, her resources of men could be developed to such an extent as to be sufficient to successfully repel all future attempts at invasion. The internal reforms now being inaugurated, and the public opinion which found expression in the case of the hero of Plevna, all tend to raise Turkey to a position which she has never before occupied.

Ghazi Osman Pasha is in the prime of life, his powers at their height. In stature about five feet eight inches, he is strongly built. His features are regular, and adorned with a full beard and moustache, while his clear eyes give him that confident expression which is his great characteristic. He is a model of frugality, endurance, and self-denial—qualities which, combined with the greatest patriotism and bravery, make him a man of whom any country might justly be proud.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by T. Cholet, 17, Boulevard des Italiens, Paris.*]



FRANCIS JOSEPH I EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

IT is difficult to delineate the life of a sovereign without writing the history of his realms for the period of his rule. In the case of Denmark or Belgium this task would not be so very difficult, both these States being comparatively compact and homogeneous, to which the relation of the ruler is direct and simple; but in the case of a country like Austria-Hungary, an Empire-Kingdom, complex in its origin and composition, and governed in a manner peculiar to itself, it is almost impossible to present a picture of the ruler without at the same time unduly crowding the canvas with the persons of the ruled. Another grave difficulty in the way of a king's biographer is that he must necessarily credit the sovereign, as representing his subjects, with events and achievements which have become identified with him, but which he never initiated; and thus it happens that many a poor monarch comes to be falsely invested with the qualities of a hero, and that many an honest king, like the statue of the ancient artist who sought to create a perfect human form by combining every conceivable beauty, merely strikes the eye as a mass of incongruity. To present a picture in which neither of these extremes shall predominate ought to be the aim of him who undertakes to portray the life and character of Francis Joseph, a Catholic and a constitutional sovereign, with territorial titles enough to fill a book; the ruler of races so various that his Imperial mantle, like the coat of his Hebrew namesake, ought to be of many colours; a member of that Triple Alliance which, notwithstanding all that has been said about it, has probably more of mystery than of meaning; and the trustee of the interests of well-nigh thirty-six millions of his fellow-men

The map of Austria-Hungary is a piece of ethnographical patchwork. It is as if all the nations of Europe had flung their political parings into a common caldron, whereunto Asia contributed some potent drug to make the mass ferment. In no other European country do we find such a variety of antipathetic races and contending religions: Germans, Slavs, Roumanians, Czechs, Croats, Poles, Italians, Orthodox and Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Gipsies, with subdivisions innumerable and shades of difference to infinity. To weld all these multifarious elements into one contented and harmonious whole, and to adapt the despotic form of government practised by his ancestors, and fostered by such ministers as Metternich, to the reforming spirit of the time—that was the task which devolved on Francis Joseph when, in 1848, still a mere youth of eighteen, circumstances called him to wield the Imperial sceptre of his house. That this beardless Hapsburg boy should have readily accepted a labour which his uncle had abandoned in despair, and from which his very father even shrank in dread, argued an amount of confidence in his own ability which could leave no doubt in him as to the efficacy of his resources, or a degree of ignorance and blindness to danger which is sometimes the surest road to success.

These were sad, tumultuous times; the faults and sins of long years were avenging themselves, and sovereign and people, estranged from each other, stood face to face in hostile array. The Revolution had made the tour of Europe, and Vienna burned to emulate the example of Paris. A mob had besieged the Burg, the Emperor conceded everything, Prince Metternich fled to England, and the regular garrison was withdrawn from the capital. Then followed the murder of Count Latour, the second flight of the Emperor, the march of Windischgrätz and Jellalich, the bombardments, the captures, and the executions. Meanwhile, Lombardy and Venice, seconded by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, had risen in revolt; the Czechs began to agitate for fuller freedom, and had Prague, their capital, lustily bombarded about their ears; while Hungary flamed up in open insurrection. Unable to cope with these calamities, the Emperor Ferdinand was induced to abdicate, and his brother Francis Charles, who was his legal successor, likewise renounced his right in favour of his son, who, though scarcely eighteen, was declared of age, and proclaimed Emperor under the title of Francis Joseph I.

Bidding his youth adieu, the new monarch set himself courageously to the task before him, and on the suppression of the rising in Hungary he promulgated a new Constitution (4th March, 1849), calculated, as he thought, to introduce order and contentment into his dominions. This Charter of Liberty, like that of Midhat Pasha, was profuse in its promises of liberty and equality; old abuses were to be abolished, and the whole representative system was to be thoroughly overhauled. Nothing could be more liberal than this paper law, but it was never heartily approved by the ruling powers; while the proclamation of a state of siege in many cities, and other expedients resorted to by those in power during a revolutionary period, easily enabled them to evade its provisions. Judged by the light of his later history, there is every reason to believe that the Emperor's intentions were really liberal; but though a ruler so young might have a wish, he could scarcely have a will of his own. He strove hard and honestly to carry out the new Constitution, but the Court Camarilla, the retrograde party in the State, the baleful faction of the Sword and the Cross, ultimately gained the upper hand, and things were soon again reduced to the *status quo ante*.

On the 20th of August, 1851, Francis Joseph once more assumed absolute power, "in order to subject the March Constitution to a revision, and see whether its execution was possible or not," making, at the same time, the ministry solely dependent on and responsible to him, and declaring the Reichsrath to be a mere council of the monarch. Schwarzenberg, in a circular to the Austrian ambassadors abroad, set forth that His Majesty was not obliged to observe the letter of the March Charter, which was one of those measures a sovereign, in the exercise of his authority, decrees, alters, or repeals according to conviction, and for which he is responsible only to God! By this declaration the political connection between the people of Cis- and Trans-Leithania was completely severed. On the 31st December, 1851, the March Constitution was repealed and buried with the dead, and on the same date the Emperor promulgated the fundamental principles for governing the Crown lands of the Empire. One will now reigned supreme, and even Hungary was compelled to bend before it. All hopes of acquiring even the shadow of self-government had for the time vanished. Bureaucracy and narrow brains everywhere swayed with resistless force; liberty of the Press, commercial laws and rights, trial by jury—all public life was swept away to make room for a centralised Austria. From 1852 till the Italian war in 1859, absolutism had a fair trial, and during that period the country made that extraordinary backward movement which was signalised to Europe in 1855 by the conclusion of the Concordat,

a treaty which, in matters of education and many domestic relations, virtually subordinated the civil to the ecclesiastical power, and made the obscurantist influence of the Pope paramount in Austria. Verily, Francis Joseph went to Canossa with a vengeance. At last, in 1859, the Piedmontese, burning to revenge their defeat at Novara, began to agitate for freedom; a proposal was made to Francis Joseph to refer the question to a European tribunal, but declined, the French troops poured across the Alps, with Napoleon III. at their head, eager to emulate the deeds of his uncle; the Austrians were defeated at Magenta and Solferino, and the Emperor was compelled to conclude a humiliating peace, by which Lombardy was lopped away from Austria. The Italian war overturned with a crash the whole edifice of his reactionary policy, and the truth began to dawn on Francis Joseph that to save his Empire from utter ruin he must alter his method of administration.

In May, 1859, the Emperor imparted to Count Rechberg his conviction of the necessity of appealing to the nation at large to participate in the transaction of public business, and that the system of the Metternichs and Schwarzenbergs must be for ever set aside. On the 15th July, 1859, he further issued a Manifesto, in which he promised the people of the monarchy that he would devote his entire attention to establishing it on a basis conformable with the spirit of the age. The Emperor dismissed his ministers and constructed a new Cabinet, but the enactment of some draconic Press laws spread deeper gloom over the country, which was not all relieved by the state of the finances; and the question then arose whether by summoning advisers from the whole monarchy better results might not be obtained. On the 5th March, 1860, therefore, the will of the Emperor was made known by a patent ordering an increase of the Reichsrath—heretofore more a consultative than a legislative body—by men of experience and patriotism drawn from all the Crown lands, and demanding from this assembly their opinion on a new organisation of the monarchy. Though not exactly answering to the wishes of the people, this "enlarged Reichsrath" was viewed as a step in the right direction, as tending to a Parliamentary life, which, if strenuously sought after, might ultimately be attained; and all men's hopes in the future were raised when, on the 19th July, the Emperor further extended the functions of the Reichsrath, and declared his determination not to impose new taxes thenceforward nor increase the old ones without its concurrence. But the Government still remained centralist and bureaucratic; the Provincial assemblies were mere consultative bodies attached to the Emperor's viceroy. His Majesty might make fair promises, but they were never carried out, and the Crown lands began to fret grievously. Not only was the internal state of the Empire deplorable, but its influence abroad was beginning to wane. In the Danubian Principalities, in Servia, and among the southern Slavs it had lost its former ascendancy. The Sardinian Government had violated the Treaty of Villafranca; it was the weakness of Austria which allowed Sicily and Naples to be conquered by Garibaldi's volunteers, and the Church States to be invaded without a declaration of war. Victor Emmanuel openly declared his intention to seize Venice at the earliest opportunity, while England sympathised with the idea of a united and independent Italy. Russia, again, remembering the refusal of Francis Joseph to assist her against the Western Powers in 1854, coolly pursued her own aims in the East without regard to the interest of Austria; while Prussia, it was well known, was only biding her time to oust the House of Hapsburg from its place of prominence in the Bund. In view of all this, therefore, Francis Joseph again felt that something must be done to stay the dissolution of his Empire. Forsaken by his allies without, he saw that salvation could only come from within; and in 1860, therefore, before leaving Vienna for

Warsaw to meet and confer with the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, he signed the oft-mentioned October Diploma, a sort of Austrian Magna Charta, containing the principles of a new Constitution. This document was preceded by a Manifesto, wherein the Emperor set forth that, having duly weighed the recommendation of the Reichsrath, he felt bound to accede to the demands and requirements of his several peoples, trusting to their patriotism and zeal for the development of the institutions granted. But the Diploma would not work. The statutes devised for the provinces were found to be impracticable. They restored the old institutions, and with them the old federative principles, retaining many of the worst features of the pre-revolutionary period. Political apathy or agitation was inevitable if the Diploma were enforced. The Hungarians, in particular, were intractable. They took their stand on the Pragmatic Sanction. By this compact the Hungarian nation gave the female line of the Hapsburgs the right to reign over them, provided only the future sovereigns of that dynasty should govern according to the laws of the country. They would, therefore, have their will. Ministers were changed and Manifestos were issued, but the Hungarians were not to be glamoured; threatening Rescripts were read, but swerve from their purpose they would not. The Diet met at Pesth, and moved an address to the Emperor insisting on all their ancient rights; but Francis Joseph dissolved the stubborn assembly, and placed the country under martial law.

The next few years presented a constant spectacle of political chaos, of "Polyglot Parliaments" and "Parliamentary Strikes" The Austrian State was a confirmed invalid, and though the family physician had kept dosing it with an endless variety of Constitutions, Patents, Decrees, Manifestos, Diplomas, Rescripts, Ordinances, and all the *materia medica* of monarchs, the only result apparently was sheer prostration from so much physic. But a galvanic shock was now to be administered to the languid patient, calculated to send life and energy once more thrilling through her veins. Instead of seeking to set his own house in order, and consolidate Austria into that Slav State for which her geographical position seemed to mark her out, the Emperor had been ambitiously seeking to establish his pre-eminence in the Bund, and attain to the hegemony of the German States. He had failed to perceive that the Holy Roman Empire, overthrown by Napoleon, could never again be restored on its former factitious basis with the spiritual and temporal sway divided between the Vatican and Vienna, and that the head of a re-confederated Germany, in accordance with the spirit of the time, must be a Protestant, not a Papal, Power. A visit which Francis Joseph paid to Berlin in 1852 restored, to all appearance, those cordial relations between him and the King of Prussia which had been broken off for several years; but in 1863, when the Emperor invited the various potentates of Germany to meet him at Frankfort and consider a scheme of reform for their common fatherland, the conference proved abortive from want of hearty co-operation on the part of Prussia. Schwarzenberg, the Austrian minister, had striven hard to obscure the rising star of the Hohenzollerns, and to render the Hapsburgs second to none in Germany; but a mightier than Czernagora was in the field. With a will which knows no weakness, Bismarck had resolved to oust Austria from a position which she no longer knew how to justify, and to place Prussia in the van of the German nations. Why recount the various events which led to the accomplishment of this? In 1864 the Schleswig-Holstein question cropped up, when Prussia invited Austria to assist her in subduing the Elbe Duchies. Francis Joseph fell into the snare, and having taken over part of the plundered property in trust, he was accused by his partner in the spoil of malversation. The quarrel might have been unjustly forced upon him, but it could only be settled by the sword. How, then, the helmeted

legions of King William swarmed into Bohemia; how the force of Austria was dissipated by the sending of an army towards the Quadrilateral to keep in check the Italians who had leagued themselves with Prussia; how the needle-gun worked such fell havoc among the fairest manhood of Austria, leading up to the crowning victory of Koniggratz and the Treaty of Prague, by which Francis Joseph ceded the Elbe Duchies to Prussia, Venetia to Victor Emmanuel, and consented to his own perpetual exclusion from the German Confederation—all these are facts of too recent history to need further recital here.

This was the shock, then, that brought the Emperor to his senses. Seven years previously the Italian war had roused him into partial activity, but the Empire was still distracted, and Hungary in particular was implacable. The Diets met; ministers were sent about their business; conciliation was tried and failed; addresses were delivered to the Crown; committees sat; votes of censure and of confidence were passed. At last, on the 18th of February, 1867, an Imperial Rescript was read in both Houses of the Hungarian Diet, by which the Emperor, confiding in the loyalty of the nation, and putting entire confidence in her readiness to co-operate with him in preserving the Empire, restored and promised to defend the Hungarian Constitution, charging Count Andrassy with the formation of a responsible Ministry—thus constituting the Empire on the Dualistic principle. On the same day the Diets of the seventeen other kingdoms and countries of the monarchy were opened, and a message of the Emperor communicated to them, announcing the repeal of the suspension of the Constitution by the September Patent of 1865, and the return to a constitutional course.

Early in June, 1867, the Emperor and Empress went to Hungary for the purpose of being crowned King and Queen of that ancient realm. On arriving in Pesth, His Majesty signed the Diploma granting the Constitution, in presence of the magnates and deputies; and on the 8th of June he and his consort were solemnly crowned, with all the ancient usages, amidst great public rejoicing At the same time the Emperor published an "Act of Grace," cancelling all sentences theretofore passed on any inhabitant of Hungary in consequence of offences against the Press laws, restoring confiscated estates, and permitting all political exiles to return. A coronation gift from the Hungarian nation was presented to the King and Queen in two silver caskets, each containing 50,000 ducats, and these their Majesties graciously made over to the widows and orphans of former Honveds, or Home-Defenders, those even who had fought against Austria in 1848-9. Internal relations being now rendered more secure, the Emperor further conciliated the love of his subjects by seeking to pursue the path of reform. The sincerity of the Emperor in his constitutional policy was proved by his answer to a memorial from the dignitaries of the Church against a revision of the Concordat. The prelates, who had deliberately affected to rely on the Emperor's prerogative in disregard of Parliament, were gravely reminded by His Majesty that their petition must be considered by his responsible ministers. In May, 1868, a Bill making marriage a civil ceremony received the Imperial assent; and in July, the Concordat with Rome was declared to be suspended in consequence of the promulgation of Papal Infallibility—a step followed, in 1874, by a Bill for the abolition of the obnoxious compact which had done more to enslave Austria than the veriest despot who ever ground her down.

During the whole of his reign Francis Joseph has been too much engrossed with the internal affairs of his Empire to pursue a very vigorous foreign policy. Notwithstanding that he had received the assistance of 100,000 men from Russia to quell the revolution in Hungary, he manifested sympathy with the cause defended by France and England by concluding a

treaty of alliance (2nd December, 1854) with the Western Powers. He managed, however, to play the part of mediator to the end; and the acceptance by the Emperor Nicholas of the four points of guarantee demanded by Francis Joseph in agreement with his allies obviated the necessity of his declaring war against a sovereign who had saved his Empire for him in 1849. When the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1 broke out, all men half expected to see Austria take her revenge for the crushing defeat inflicted on her at Sadowa by flying to the aid of the "man of destiny" who had conquered her at Solferino; and who can say that Francis Joseph would not have sought to befriend his Catholic brother Napoleon had he not suspected the war-dogs of Russia were hard behind him, ready to be slipped from their leash did he but stir a foot? But however that may have been, and whatever were the feelings with which Francis Joseph beheld the victorious progress of Prussia, it is certain that after the war he once more displayed his magnificent capacity for adapting himself to altered circumstances, meeting the newly-made Emperor of Germany at Gastein, and again at Salzburg (September, 1871), when, although no formal treaty was concluded, it was understood that the two sovereigns had arrived at a friendly understanding. Francis Joseph had come at last to see that it would be better for him frankly to recognise Italian and German unity; and he determined to promote a reconciliation between the two Empires. He therefore dismissed Count Beust, who was rather anti-Prussian in his tendencies, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, appointing Count Andrassy in his stead, and next year, accompanied by the latter, he paid a visit to Berlin, where he was joined by the Czar, with whom was Prince Gortchakoff, and the three Emperors engaged in deliberations upon which were supposed to hang the fate of Europe, though Prince Bismarck declared that the meeting was a mere act of private friendship. Next year, again, Francis Joseph was received with cordial hospitality at Berlin, while the German and Russian Emperors met with an enthusiastic reception at Vienna, and everything pointed to the extinction of former feuds and jealousies between the two powerful sovereigns who had striven so hard for supremacy in the Bund and on the battle-field.

Excluded from Germany, and but little interested to retain his footing in Italy, Francis Joseph now turned his thoughts to the East, for it required no prophetic eye to see that the "Sick Man" was about to swoon; and would it not be Christian-like to catch him in one's arms and break his fall? The discontented state of the neighbouring Slavo-Turkish provinces was a constant menace to the internal peace of Austria, whose southern populations, not perfectly contented themselves, were too apt to catch contagion from the insurrectionists across the Save. The Emperor had been meditating action long. In 1876, therefore, when the bankruptcy of Turkey was announced, and when the insurrection troubles broke out in Servia and the other Slav provinces, Francis Joseph was the first to give Europe the alarm. After consulting with, and procuring the assent of, the other two Imperial parties to the Triple Alliance, he caused Count Andrassy to draw up his famous Note to the Sultan, suggesting certain reforms for the pacification of his revolted dominions; but although that document was approved by the Powers, and accepted by his Ottoman Majesty, no good came of it, and the Turkish malady had to take its course. Drugging the patient with conferences and protocols would not avail; recourse must be had to the scalpel; and while the operation was in progress Austria looked on with keen though somewhat nervous attention. The Imperial policy of Francis Joseph is often said to be vacillating, though, in consideration of the opposing interests he must take into account, it would be truer to call it uncertain. No better example of this could be given than the attitude of His Majesty all through the Russo-Turkish war, when the German-

Austrians and Slavs were clearly inclined to Russia, while the Hungarians, claiming kindred even with the Ottomans, and remembering how Muscovite battalions had baulked their efforts for liberty in 1849, clamoured for intervention in favour of the Sultan. Guided, however, by the sagacious counsels of Count Andrassy, His Majesty maintained a firmly neutral attitude till the end; and when the war was over no one strove more strenuously to bring about a European Congress. The Powers assembled at Berlin were well aware that the best barrier to an aggressive Russia was an extended Austria, and what all men expected now happened. By the high Areopagus Francis Joseph was commissioned with the occupation, military and administrative, of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to restore order in those two provinces and prevent them from again becoming the hotbeds of anarchy and insurrection. On the 28th of July, therefore, he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, reciting their grievances, declaring his credentials, and promising them relief from all their woes. But the occupation was not the mere military promenade expected. The Austrian troops met with the most desperate resistance everywhere from the Mussulmans; the Porte could not be brought to conclude the necessary Convention, and the Emperor's troubles were further increased by the resignation of the Hungarian Cabinet, who refused to grant further supplies—in this but too faithfully reflecting the feelings of the Magyar nation, who had never looked with favour on the movement. Towards the end of autumn, however, the insurrection was nearly crushed, and the army, which had not enjoyed much public confidence since the disasters of 1866, now showed what progress it had been making under the re-organising care of the Emperor.

The reign of Francis Joseph has been a period of alternate struggle, disaster, and success for Austria; and though the ruling monarch must look back on many defeats, it would be rather coarse caricature to dub him *Schlact-verlierer* (battle-loser), like his ancestor, Charles of Lorraine, or rank him with Joseph II., whose self-composed epitaph asserted that "he failed in everything he undertook." Inheriting to a certain extent, however, the foibles of these two sovereigns, Francis Joseph was further hampered by evident adhesion to the presumptuous policy of the Emperor Frederick III., enigmatically mottoed in the five vowels: *A(ustriae) E(st) I(mperare) O(rbi) U(niverso)*—*i.e.*, the whole world shall be ruled by Austria. But the example of this universal sovereign ought to be a warning to those monarchs who think that the larger their dominions, the more secure they are. The most indulgent historians will hardly place the Emperor in the front intellectual rank. When any nation, however, has at last achieved something like a constitution, and when ministers are the virtual moulders of the people's destinies, it is, perhaps, better that the monarch should be a respectable mediocrity, free from blundering if wanting brilliancy. The most expected of him is that he shall be endowed with common sense and a sound, solid judgment, and that his prerogative and final vote shall be ever ready to sanction the measures of sagacious counsellors. But even in this respect it is not altogether clear that Francis Joseph completely answers to the idea of a model king after the modern type, though it must be owned that, as a ruler, his task is the most difficult conceivable. Austria, unlike most other nations, is not so much a country as a government, a throne supported by bayonets, a bundle of States held together by red tape. To harmonise so many conflicting interests, to weld into one contented body politic such various races and religionists, to be equally fair and indulgent to so many communities possessing such unequal marks of civilisation and such unequal capacity for civil liberty, is a labour from which a successful Viceroy of India even might well recoil with dread. In the Monarchy there are still protesting Czechs and malcontent Hungarians, recalcitrant Croats and seditious Poles. The



PRINCE VON BISMARCK

Parliamentary machine does not work without friction, the provincial assemblies are prone to grumble, and the abrogation of stringent Press laws would tend to make the House of Hapsburg much more popular than it really is; but, compared with what it was in 1848, the Empire may be said to be stable and prosperous, and the motto "*Viribus unitis*," which the youthful Emperor chose on ascending the throne, is in a fair way towards being realised. His life, like that of most European sovereigns, has been twice attempted—once at Vienna in 1853, and again at Prague in 1855; but the only wonder is that, in view of the discontented elements in his dominions, he has not more frequently been made the mark of the assassin.

The nearly obsolete spectacle of a king buckling on his armour and going forth to battle at the head of his people tends to reconcile disloyal mankind to the regal office, but though educated for the military career, Francis Joseph has, nevertheless, seen fit to entrust the management of most critical campaigns to such illustrious leaders as Radetzky, Benedek, and Philippovich. Still, though not so much of a soldier-sovereign as his Imperial brother of Germany, he, on the other hand, never imitated the example of those cautious warrior-kings who are content to watch the manœuvres and the massacre of their troops from the safe altitude of a wooden platform. With the ardent blood of youth still in his veins, he took part in the battle of Santa Lucia, near Verona, in 1848; assisted in the capture of Raab, in Hungary, the following year; and at Solferino he gave proof of bravery almost amounting to rashness. Invariably worsted in war, the Emperor-King has won copious laurels in the pursuits of peace. He has honestly striven to develop the industries and material resources of his Empire, while the drama, art, and literature must acknowledge him as a munificent patron. It was a praiseworthy interest in the progress of civilisation which led him, along with various other European potentates, as the guest of the Khedive, to witness the opening of the Suez Canal in November, 1869; and an adventurous curiosity carried him across to Palestine in the same year, when he visited Jerusalem under the protection of some Bedouin chiefs. Europe, too, is greatly indebted to him for having planned and achieved the Universal Exhibition of 1873, which made Vienna for a time the holiday resort of the world. It was opened by the Emperor in person on the 1st of May, and among the illustrious visitors who shared his hospitality during that memorable year were the Prince of Wales, the Czar, the Shah, the King of Italy, the Emperor and Empress of Germany—personages, said Francis Joseph, in opening the Reichsrath, whose visits had knit closer the bonds of friendship already existing between him and them, increasing the pledges of peace, and strengthening the influence of his Empire. If Francis Joseph has not always been penetrating enough to discern the signs of the times, and shape his policy accordingly, it must be owned that, having once been convinced by the logic of cannon, no one has shown a more cheerful tendency to look defeat in the face and reconcile himself to the inevitable. Revenge is not a prominent element of his nature; for how otherwise could he kiss the Imperial cheek of his conqueror at Königgratz, and exchange decorations with his victors at Magenta, ere yet the blood of his slaughtered subjects had ceased to crimson the field of battle? Through the patriotism and the liberal concessions of the Emperor, Austria has made large strides towards becoming a free, a united, and a constitutional State, and has again achieved that influence at the council-board of nations of which weakness, consequent on internal disorder, had so long deprived her.

PRINCE BISMARCK.

A FIGURE suggesting thoughts of a mediæval fighting-man—of Sir William Wallace or Wallenstein; a huge body, weighing over seventeen stone, tall, erect, broad-shouldered, vigorous-limbed, inclosed in the uniform of a colonel of Prussian Cuirassiers, and surmounted by a heavy spiked helmet; a shortish, thick, tenacious neck, massive jaw, and heavy moustache, imparting a military appearance; a countenance full of dauntless courage and high resolve; bushy eyebrows beetling over a pair of grey eyes, looking as if they could behold the sun without blinking—eyes calculated to win fair women and wither up factious men; the complexion dull, and of a peculiar paleness, fixed there by sleepless nights and days of carking care; the head erect; a proud, uncompromising look, a human form not over-handsome to the eye, yet, once beheld, that can never be forgotten, full of force, and originality, and colossal will: such are the prominent characteristics which go to make up the outward bodily presence of the greatest public man in Europe—the inheritor of all that is heroic in these latter ages—the saviour of society by blood and iron: the dragoon-diplomatist, Prince von Bismarck-Schönhausen, Chancellor of the German Empire.

About six weeks before the battle of Waterloo, when the "Corsican Robber," lately escaped from Elba, was sitting in the Tuileries, sketching the outlines of a new campaign, there was born, far away north in the barren solitudes of Brandenburg, a male child, destined to build up again what the scourge of Europe had destroyed. The child's name was Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck, and he saw the light at Schönhausen, on April the 1st, 1815. The Prince's giant frame and manly instincts are derived from a long line of ancestors who were the Nimrods of the north; while from his mother, member of a Leipsic family of scholars, he inherited the comprehensive mind which enables him to master and expound the subtle relations of policy. At the age of six Bismarck was removed to Berlin, where he remained under the charge of Dr. Bonnel (of French Huguenot extraction) till 1832, when he was deemed sufficiently advanced to pass on to the University. To Göttingen, accordingly, Bismarck—now a tall, slim youth of seventeen—repaired. Here he went heart and soul into the spirit of the place. He led about a huge mastiff, he smoked a long pipe, he wore prodigious riding-boots, and invested in a rack of rapiers. He drank, he sang, he flirted, and he swore. He became the most dauntless dueller in the University, and came out victorious from a score of combats. In 1833 he matriculated at Berlin, but with no better result; nor did the friendship he now formed with a young American, named John Lothrop Motley, tend to imbue his mind with an early love of popular liberty.' He attended the lectures of the celebrated Savigny thrice, but courage to return he could not muster up. Nevertheless, he succeeded in passing the terrible *Staatsexamen*, though no one ever exactly knew how, and, even long after he had defied Europe and dismembered the Danish monarchy, his enemies were perpetually questioning the great man's right to do so, from its being doubtful

whether he had ever passed his Government examination! The next few years of his life were devoted to the acquisition of that practical acquaintance with law and business exacted of every one in training for diplomacy. But pleasure and travelling seem to have mostly taken up his time, and, for the rest, arrogance and insubordination were the qualities which then mainly distinguished him.

Having served his time in the army, and acquired that ardour for the service which still clings to him, and makes him proud to appear as often as possible in uniform, he and his brother were intrusted with the management of the family estates; and from 1839 to 1847 Bismarck led the life of a country gentleman. He attended the yeomanry, he travelled abroad, he went to balls and fashionable watering-places; he fretted himself for lack of means, and was mightily taken up with night frosts, sick cattle, bad roads, floods, fodder, and failing crops. He enjoyed a splendid appetite, however, and "slept like a badger." He was regarded by all the district as mad. His pranks, his daring feats of horsemanship, his wilfulness, and his wassailings were the talk and the terror of the neighbourhood. He quaffed great cups of mingled champagne and porter. He woke up his guests in the morning by firing off pistols close to their pillows; and he terrified his lady friends by turning foxes into the drawing-room. But he varied his occupation. The Berlin booksellers kept him well abreast of the literature of the day. History continued to be his favourite reading, and at times he would shut himself up in his study, and devour all kinds of intellectual fodder.

The throne of Prussia at this time was occupied by Frederick William IV., a monarch who firmly believed in his divine right to rule, who was resolved to transmit intact to his successor the rights and dignity of the Crown, and who, when asked for a Constitution, swore he would never suffer a written sheet of paper to force itself in between the Lord God in heaven and his people. But though he would not enter into a written compact with his subjects, the revolutionary events of the time constrained him to grant them something like representative government; and by the famous Constitution of 1847 the various provincial Diets of Prussia were authorised to meet at Berlin in a united Diet as often as the exigencies of the kingdom required it.

Previous to his marriage, Bismarck had been chosen as Knight's Deputy in the Jerichow circle for the Saxon Provincial Diet of Merseburg, and in this capacity he came to Berlin to attend the first united Diet, which met in April, 1847. This was his first appearance as an actor in the great political drama of which we have not yet seen the end. By birth and breeding he was a King's Man. The Bismarck family, of ancient lineage, was of the *Junker* rank—something, that is, between our knight and squire. The term is used to express the false pride and conservatism of the landed nobility. Inheriting thus the caste feelings of his ancestors, and little open to the new influences of his time, there is little wonder that Bismarck became *plus royaliste que le roi*—the Strafford of Frederick William IV. His first speech in the United Diet was in opposition to those who still clamoured for a "chartered Constitution." He was hissed down, but he was not discomfited. From his pocket he drew out a newspaper, which he calmly perused until the storm had abated. In subsequent sittings of the Chamber he battled boldly for the principle contained in the Stuart maxim, "*A Deo rex, a rege lex*," and attracted the grateful attention of his Sovereign. He sneered at the so-called "majesty of the people;" saw nothing in the movement of the time but a lust for theft, swore that all large cities, as being the hot-beds of revolution, should be swept from the earth; and was the uncompromising champion of divine right. Possessing such opinions as these, it was no wonder that when the revolution of March broke out he moodily held aloof from all concessions, though the King himself was carried away by the popular enthusiasm; and

when, in April of that year, the Diet met for the purpose of transferring its functions to a Constituent Assembly, he only accepted the address in answer to the Royal Decree of Proposition for the sole reason that he was unable to do otherwise. "The Prussian Crown," he said, "must not be forced into the powerless position of the English Crown, which appears more like an elegant ornament on the apex of the edifice of the State, in ours I recognise the supporting pillar." All attempts, moreover, to procure his adhesion to a scheme for uniting Prussia with the other German States were in vain. The democratic sovereignty which had been offered the King by the Frankfort Parliament he thus rejected:—"The Frankfort Crown may be very brilliant, but the gold which would give truth to its brilliancy could only be gained by melting down the Prussian Crown, and I have no confidence that it could be successfully re-cast in the mould of that Constitution." Events ripened gradually. A rupture between Prussia and Austria, as the dominant member of the Bund, could only be avoided by the Treaty of Olmutz, by which they both agreed, if need be, to suppress a rising in the Elbe Duchies; and Bismarck even went the length of saying that Prussia should subordinate herself to Austria, that they might together crush German democracy. But his veneration for Austria was soon to be cured. His services to the Crown having procured him the post of Prussian representative at the Diet, he had not been long in Frankfort when the scales began to fall from his eyes. He found the Bund a hotbed of chicanery, hypocrisy, and intrigue; while Austria, flushed with her Olmütz victory, took no pains to hide her hatred of her great rival. "Prussia," Prince Schwarzenberg declared, "must first be abased, and then abolished." Bismarck, however, determined that it should be all the other way. The result of his eight years' experience at Frankfort was to convince him that there was "a vice in our Federal relations which, sooner or later, must be extirpated *ferro et igne*." Behold the first rough draft of that celebrated scheme of policy with which the name of Bismarck will be associated in history. "It is not by speech-making," he said, again, "that you will unite Germany; to cement this union what is wanted is blood and iron." On the appointment of the present Emperor to the Regency in 1858, one of his first acts was to dismiss the Manteuffel Ministry, and remove Bismarck to the post of Ambassador in St. Petersburg, or, as he himself expressed it, "put him in ice." William, who had not yet become thoroughly reconciled to his future Minister, was afraid he might precipitate a struggle. On the banks of the Neva, though fretting himself at being so far away from the arena of strife, he eagerly endeavoured to find favour with the Russians, who were charmed by the curious spectacle of a diplomatist railing at his own Government, abusing the "Periwigs of Potsdam," and aspersing the "Philistines of the Spree."

But though no longer "before the enemy" in Frankfort, his hostility to Austria continued, and when the Italian war broke out in 1859 he did everything in his power to prevent Prussia sending troops to help her Federal ally. The consequence was that Austria, smarting from the wounds received at Magenta and Solferino, attributed her defeat to Prussia, and the latter, therefore, saw herself compelled to follow out at all hazards her own independent development, or become the humble dependent of the House of Hapsburg. In 1861 Bismarck had met the King at Baden-Baden, and unfolded his views. Internal difficulties and Parliamentary conflicts had combined to impel His Majesty to form energetic resolutions, but a vigorous will was wanted to carry them out. There was only one man equal to the emergency, and at his coronation in October, 1862, he communicated his design to Bismarck. But Bismarck's training for office was scarcely yet complete, and, at his own desire, he was sent as Ambassador to Paris, where he wished once more to take the measure of a man on whom it was then universally believed depended the destinies of Europe. He found Napoleon "the embodiment of misunderstood incapacity," and Napoleon

thought him mad. After a few months spent in France, he returned to Berlin (September, 1862) Bismarck's history for the next eight years is the history of the re-unification of the Empire.

Hitherto the German States had presented the spectacle of a fleet of vessels tossing about without sailing tactics on a stormy sea, in momentary danger of all being dashed together and destroyed. But now the biggest of the number fell into the hands of a helmsman able to steer his own craft clear of the confusion and lead the others after him in fair and orderly array. His accession to office was received with a storm of abuse; he was called the *coup d'état* Minister. But his mind was made up. Leaving internal affairs to take care of themselves, he set himself to the task of deposing Austria from her place of pride. The partial mobilisation of the troops during the Italian war had revealed certain grave defects in the military system, but the strenuous exertions of Von Moltke and Von Roon had gradually brought it to a pitch of splendid perfection. Had the nation itself been with Bismarck, his task would have been comparatively easy; but he was perpetually quarrelling with the Opposition over the Budget and the Royal prerogative. He was accused of maintaining that might is right; and for the next four years political life in Prussia was a continual conflict, reminding one of the Stuart struggle with the English Parliament. The Chamber was twice angrily dissolved, but nothing could induce confidence in a policy which prudence forbad him entirely to disclose. No sooner was Bismarck at the head of foreign affairs than he gave Austria clearly to understand what she had to expect of him. The latter proposed a Congress for the settlement of differences, but that would not suit the purposes of Bismarck. Prussia must become great and mighty. An opportunity soon offered. The Danish difficulty cropped up (it is needless here to be detailed), and Prussia proposed to Austria a joint occupation of the Elbe Duchies in the interest of both countries against the spirit of revolution. Both placed armies in the field. The Danes were finally crushed at Düppel, and by the Treaty of Vienna the Duchies were ceded to Austria and Prussia, the former, by the Convention of Gastein, holding Holstein, while Prussia occupied Schleswig and Lauenburg. Displeased, however, with the administration of Holstein, Bismarck, now a Count, expostulated sharply with Austria, who, seeing whither things were tending, began to look about for allies. Bismarck now appealed to the Diet, and demanded a national Parliament, based on universal suffrage, for the re-organisation of the Federal Constitution; but the Bund ordered the mobilisation of three army corps against Prussia, who, having unavailingly summoned the aid of some of the minor States, immediately declared war. The result may be shortly stated. At Langensalza the entire Hanoverian army was captured; the Bavarians were defeated in several engagements; Darmstadt, Frankfort, and Hesse-Cassel were occupied, and the Elector of the latter sent a prisoner to Stettin. Finally, after the short but brilliant "Seven Days' War," the Prussian needle-gun destroyed the Austrian army at Sadowa and procured the Treaty of Prague, by which Francis Joseph recognised the dissolution of the Bund, and consented to a new formation of Germany, in which Austria should take no part, ceding, moreover, all his rights to the Duchies Italy, too, who had previously concluded a secret treaty with Prussia and sent an army into the field, received Venetia. By the war Prussia actually gained Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein, and Lauenburg, part of Hesse-Darmstadt, the free city of Frankfort, and the Principality of Hohenzollern. Hated and despised on his accession to power, Bismarck now became the idol of the people. He hastened to conciliate the Diet, and demanded a Budget indemnity. Previously averse from unity, on the ground that the particular interests of Prussia would thereby suffer, he no longer opposed the national feeling now that Austria was out of the way, and that he saw his own beloved country certain to take the lead. After much negotiation, therefore, Bismarck had the satisfaction of

achieving the North German Confederation, under which twenty-one States formed themselves into a perpetual union, under the presidency of Prussia, with a common Constitution and Assembly. Bismarck himself became Chancellor of the new body, which met for the first time on September 16th, 1867. Still, the southern States were not yet admitted into the League, though for the purposes of commerce the Zollverein did much to unite the whole. When M. Rouher, too, boasted to the French Assembly that the Treaty of Prague had divided Germany into three, Europe was rather surprised when Bismarck published treaties by which Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden agreed, in the event of foreign war, to place their armies at the disposal of Prussia; and an opportunity for keeping their word soon came. France had become jealous of Prussia's rising power. Even on the 5th of August, 1866, after the Austrian campaign, the French Ambassador handed Bismarck a secret demand for the restoration of the boundaries of 1814, and the "Man of Destiny" was probably mortified when Prussia's concession in the matter of Luxembourg destroyed all immediate cause of quarrel But a *casus belli* soon cropped up in the candidature of a Hohenzollern for the crown of Spain; and who does not remember the thrilling events of those stupendous days? The meeting at Ems, the declaration of war, the mustering of the armies, "the baptism of fire"—Weissenburg, Wörth, Spichern, Strasburg, Metz, Sedan, Paris, Versailles—where, on the 18th of January, 1871, in the Great Hall of Louis XIV., amid a splendid throng of princes and a bower of gorgeous banners, Bismarck (soon himself to be made a Prince) read aloud the Proclamation of the newly-made Emperor of a united German Fatherland!

Chancellor of the Empire and Prime Minister of Prussia, Bismarck was now at the very summit of power, and men felt that if a Hohenzollern King was called the ruler of Germany, it was a mere courtesy title. Scarcely had the strong man, born to battle, risen triumphant from his death-wrestle with France than he looked eagerly around for another foe, and that was soon found. Brought about by causes which had operated from without, the unification of Germany was now in danger of being undone by influences directly at work within. The lately-propounded dogma of Papal Infallibility had found zealous supporters in the German bishops, who, in Church matters, aimed at subordinating the civil to ecclesiastical authority; in addition to which, the Vatican, exasperated by the successive defeat of Catholic Austria and France by Protestant Prussia, was firmly resolved that the latter Power must be abased. Hence arose the so-called *Culturkampf*—a fresh outbreak of the same old struggle between the Pope and the Emperor, the spiritual and the temporal powers, as made Hildebrand excommunicate Henry IV., and force him, like a bare-footed beggar, to whine for pardon and for peace. "But we," quoth Bismarck, "will never go to Canossa." Thus that desperate encounter with the Church, which has not yet ended, was commenced, in 1871, by the enaction of a law, at the instance of the Prince, for the repression of seditious language in the pulpit. This was followed, next year, by a measure for the expulsion of the Jesuits, which the Prince carried through the German Parliament with the cordial aid of a large majority; and, by a Prussian Bill, the control of primary education was transferred from the clergy of both Churches to the State-authorities. In the Reichstag, too, he again struck at the chief promoters of sedition; and the following year beheld the Ultramontanes writhing under a still heavier weight of restrictions. The Prussian Parliament passed a Bill prohibiting the appointment of parish priests without the previous sanction of the Government, and requiring clerical students to pass through a course of instruction in the national universities The fractious opposition of the bishops continuing, Bismarck introduced a Bill for the transfer of registration from the clergy of all denominations to the civil servants of the State; a measure intended to make the validity of marriages

depend exclusively on the celebration of the civil ceremony, and decreeing that baptism should no longer be regarded as an indispensable condition of the exercise of some civil functions. The Pope addressed to the Emperor a letter of expostulation, but the only reply was that the Catholic Hierarchy in Germany were guilty of insubordination to the State. Stroke after stroke fell pitilessly upon the heads of the Ultramontanes. The new ecclesiastical laws were enforced with rigour, certain bishops were fined and imprisoned, and priests were even arrested in their churches. Meanwhile, the toils and excitement of the struggle had shaken the Prince's health; and, having gone to Kissingen to take the waters, a repetition of the dastardly attempt on his life by Julius Cohen, at Berlin, in 1866, was made by Edward Kullman, a Catholic fanatic, who wounded him in the wrist with a revolver. The Ultramontane press, however, strenuously disavowed all sympathy with the crime; and the joy of the people at the Chancellor's escape proved beyond a doubt their acquiescence in his vigorous enterprises. But does Bismarck, like Macbeth, doubt and falter? Is he not only afraid to go on, but does he desire to recede? His interview with the Papal Nuncio at Gastein in the autumn of 1878 led men to say that for the sake of party purposes he was willing to undo the work of the past, and shake himself free of the recalcitrant Liberals by conciliating the Catholics; but of this there can be no doubt, that the peace and prosperity of the Empire must greatly depend on the establishment of a *modus vivendi* with the Vatican.

The next notable incident in the Prince's career was the arrest and relentless prosecution, at his instance, of Count Arnim, previously Ambassador at Paris, on the charge of having embezzled documents of various kinds, and in the progress of the case the publication of some of the Prince's correspondence on French affairs proved more interesting than the litigation itself. The Prince, some said, was influenced by personal pique, and an unworthy desire to get rid of a rival, while calmer judges of human motives contended that he was induced to act as he did by the purest patriotism

On the 1st of April, 1877—his birthday—the Prince answered the felicitations of his Sovereign by a petition for permission to withdraw, and the world perplexed itself with questionings as to his true motive; but in a few days men's minds were tranquillised by his consenting to remain in office Well, perhaps, was it for the peace of Europe that he did so. The attitude of Bismarck to the Eastern Question is too recent to need much recapitulation. For the first time in his life he seemed to be for peace at any price; and when the war of 1877 actually did break out, no Minister did more than he to localise the struggle. Unwilling to offend Russia, he wished to remain friendly to Austria, and he would not draw the sword for any but German interests. Germany, moreover, had no interests, except the pacific rivalry of trade, which could bring her in opposition to England. No sooner, again, did Austria propose a Conference for the settlement of difficulties than the Chancellor readily pledged the attendance of Germany, provided that, if the high assembly met on German soil, it should have a German President; and when formal questions between the Powers threatened after all to frustrate the work of peace, it was the unflagging zeal and mediatorial activity of the Prince which alone triumphed over all obstacles, and finally brought the signatories of the Treaty of Paris together in the Radziwill Palace. How he, as President of the Congress, performed his task, with what persevering tact he reconciled conflicting interests and removed dead-locks, and with what a firm but sympathetic hand he repressed the reckless eagerness of minor States, securing thus the peace of Europe—all these things are still fresh in the grateful memory of man. But during the sitting of the Congress the President's thoughts were not entirely taken up with the task of averting a general

European war. It is not given to this man to deal with one difficulty at a time His Imperial master was lying on a sick-bed, slowly recovering from wounds inflicted by the bullet of a Socialist assassin. The crime of Vera Zassoulitch in Russia, of Hödel and Nobiling in Germany, had forcibly recalled the attention of Bismarck to the existence of a disorganised but deadly foe of the State, in the persons of the Social Democrats. Regarding these theorists in the light of Thugs and bandits determined to overthrow all existing order and carry out their nefarious designs in defiance of all Divine and human law, he resolved relentlessly to crush them in their very infancy. Deeming that no compassion should be shown to those who possessed so little pity themselves, he introduced into the Reichstag a Bill of a very repressive nature, which could only extirpate Socialism at the risk of seriously abridging civil liberty, and Parliament, proving rather averse from such coercive legislation, was angrily dissolved. The new elections, however, proved more favourable to the Chancellor's policy, and in the autumn, after some angry debating, a Bill was passed which may possibly achieve the end in view, but which cannot fail at the same time to introduce one more element of discontent into a country already galled by stringent Church, Press, and Army laws.

Space would fail us to trace the entire and sinuous length of the mighty river; we must be content to have committed its devious devolutions to the map by taking its bearings from a succession of commanding altitudes The Prince has a frame of iron; and though the labours of a long public life have left their mark upon him, compelling him to seek frequent relief from the cares of office, he still goes through an amount of business which would crush the spirit out of half a dozen ordinary men. Of his physical powers illustrations are rife; cool and audacious in the midst of danger, he was the boldest hunter and the best rider in all Brandenburg, and many of his most telling similes are taken from the chase. A powerful swimmer, he once threw himself into a river and rescued his groom from drowning, a feat which procured him the Humane Society's medal, which he still wears on his breast when the proudest orders of Christendom conferred upon him, and numbering more than half a hundred, are laid aside. It is related, too, how at Königgratz he was thirteen hours in the saddle without food, and how after the battle, wearied with the toils and excitement of the day, he threw himself down to sleep on a hard village pavement, with a carriage cushion for a pillow. It will be remembered, also, how when, during the Berlin Congress, Prince Gortchakoff one evening visited the German Chancellor, a favourite mastiff of the latter rushed at the aged man, and might have finished him but that its master with Herculean strength tore it from its prostrate prey. The virtues and the defects of the Chancellor have the same root. While the consciousness of vast physical power has infused itself into his will, and enabled him to dare and to do so much, it cannot be denied that his occasional arrogance and masterful manner may be partly accounted for by the fact of his possessing brawny arms and colossal thigh-bones. Feeling himself physically the superior of all men, he has a tendency to meet the shafts of logic with the lunge of a rapier, and to achieve his end by rudeness when he might have gained it by reason. It is related, for example, how, in 1850, chancing to be in a Berlin beer-saloon, and overhearing an excited politician railing at a member of the royal family, he snatched up his tankard and felled the foul-mouthed demagogue His enemies accuse him of having introduced into the Reichstag the overweening manners of the Bursche, but of this there can be little doubt, that, however well fitted to advise his Sovereign in secret, he is but little qualified to guide or gain over a Parliament. His fiery Hotspur spirit can ill brook the shifts, the patient tact, and the political strategy essential to a successful Parliamentary leader.

Among the labours of this Hercules, history will give a prominent place to his having cleansed

the Augean stables of diplomacy—a word which, etymologically, has much in it to support the meaning often given it of "double-dealing." Previous to the era of Bismarck, intercourse between diplomatists was of such a nature as almost to justify the *mot* that "language was given to man to conceal his thoughts." But he had the courage to inaugurate a new era, and contrived to give truth itself all the political virtues of falsehood. Like Cromwell, too, the Prince has a deeply religious spirit, and when alone or confronted with nature his speculations often run in a groove recalling the melancholy and the metaphysics of Hamlet. He is witty and colloquial, possessing the art—rare in his countrymen—of terse and epigrammatic expression; and many of his pithy sayings are interwoven in the page of history. Though the most practical of men, he is gifted with a rich fancy and a happy power of metaphor; and though no orator, in the strict sense of the word, his rugged strength of speech and terrible earnestness never fail to command the attention, if not the applause, of listening senates. No man of his time has been a more restless and inquiring traveller. Without being professorial, he is profoundly acquainted with history; and there are few European languages in which he cannot make himself fluently understood. Nor does the Prince possess the hard, inhuman heart many of his detractors would make out. A tender husband and an affectionate father, the poisoned dart of slander, which has sought to pierce every chink in his armour, could never yet find an entrance through any flaw in his domestic relations. Keenly alive, moreover, to the influences of nature, nothing delights him so much as to escape from the capital to the solitude of his country seat. The share he took in suppressing the Polish insurrection, and the secret treaty said to have been concluded between him and M. Benedetti, after the war of 1866, with respect to Belgium, may furnish matter against him for a charge of public dishonesty; but no one has ever yet accused him of seeking to promote his own private ends at the expense of his country. The friend of Austria, and then her mortal foe; the champion of absolutism, and afterwards the advocate of universal suffrage; the partisan of particularism, and then the promoter of union: the Prince has been charged with capricious shiftiness; but it would be unjust, as he himself once argued, to expect consistency of opinion from him during a quarter of a century. As a Minister, he must have learned to subordinate his own opinion to the needs of the State; and who so enlightened as he who is always open to conviction? Accused of crushing Germany under a military despotism, and converting Europe into a bristling camp, he pleads that it would be folly to disband his myriad legions till the results they have achieved shall have been conserved. At first a Prussian Junker, and now a German Prince; once detested by his countrymen, and now adored; the destroyer of one Empire, and the maker of another; the foe of revolution, and the rock on which the Papacy has split: Bismarck towers above all his contemporaries, and will go down to future times as the incarnation of patriotic virtue and giant force of will.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph published by Messrs. Loescher & Petsch, Berlin, and J. Cerson, 5, Rathbone Place, London, W.*]



Engraved by Adam Scott

CASSELL, PETTER & GALPIN, LITH

MIDHAT PASHA.

STATESMANSHIP of a high order, according to European ideas, is so rare a quality amongst Asiatics, that whenever one of that race possesses it to any extent it is looked on almost as a phenomenon. The subject of the present memoir is one of those brilliant exceptions to the general rule, and the qualities of Midhat Pasha, from their excellence in a truly diplomatic sense, and the able manner in which they have been exercised, make him a most prominent figure in this century's history of the Ottoman Empire.

Descended from a long line of influential landowners in Bulgaria, Midhat is one of that class styled Pomaks, who, on the Turks occupying the country, embraced the Mohamedan religion in order to retain their lands, and have by time and union of faith become the most devoted adherents of the empire. The Turks, occupying the position of conquerors, have for five hundred years maintained that attitude towards the Christian Slavs, whom they subdued in 1391. Notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since Bulgaria came under Turkish rule, the races composing the population have never amalgamated, and the Turks and Slavs of the present day are as distinct as ever. This is, without doubt, owing to the policy pursued by Mohamedan conquerors, who having won their position by virtue of the sword, maintain it by the same means, and never think of according to their subjects who differ in faith the same protection and privileges which are claimed by themselves. This is apparent in the histories of all those countries over which the tides of Moslem invasion have passed. None, however, afford so strong an example of this as Bulgaria and her neighbours, and the enmity which remained hidden for so long gained strength during its period of, one might almost say, incubation, and the fierce warfare of late years has been the result.

Midhat was born in Constantinople in the year 1822, and, like all members of the higher ranks of Turks, was to have followed the life of a soldier. His father, a distinguished member of the Ottoman magistracy, was his first tutor. From him he imbibed those ideas of reform which have exercised so great an influence on his career and have mainly guided his actions. Impressed by the troubles through which Turkey had passed, and which tinged the whole character of the nation, Midhat at a very early age took a great interest in the events of the time, and developed a remarkable strength of character. The massacre of the Janissaries, and the despotic measures adopted by the Sultan and Pashas, fired the young Midhat with a desire to bring about some alteration in the constitution, which he saw was bringing ruin on his country. He devoted himself with great energy to his studies, and his progress was so rapid that he obtained an appointment as copyist in the Bureau de l'Administration while only twelve years of age. While occupied in this work he continued his studies, and was instructed by some of the most learned men of the day. Like Osman Pasha, he had for fellow-pupils men who subsequently attained honourable positions. Amongst them, Defget and Davish Pashas were the most remarkable.

Before his death, the Sultan Mahmoud II. had inaugurated many reforms which benefited his country, and his successors continued the work. The famous Hatti Sherif of Gulkhané was promulgated by this sovereign, and Midhat had thus an early opportunity for seeing the working of beneficial changes in the administration, so far as the general public was concerned. But those who under the old constitution were paramount, seeing their power on the decline, set themselves against the reforms, and banded together to destroy their effect. To the teachings of the Sheik-ul-Islam Asaf Bek may be traced much of the matured character of Midhat, especially that portion which worked for internal reform, but was antagonistic to external pressure and supervision. Having full confidence in the capacity of his countrymen, and their ability to adopt any modern and civilised improvements, he saw that the only thing required was to secure for them a just administration, and to this end his life has been devoted.

Midhat, notwithstanding his youth, had assisted in all the changes of the time, and his abilities were so conspicuous that in 1841, when he had reached the age of nineteen years, he was appointed Secretary to Faik Effendi, Finance Minister. He accompanied his chief to Syria, and remained there for three years, participating in the serious work which was carried on. By a peculiar coincidence his first appointment outside the capital carried him to a city which was destined to be the place where he was sent after an unjust exile—a stepping stone once more to Imperial favour. After leaving Syria he returned to Constantinople, and again took up his position in the Bureau, but not for long, as he was soon entrusted with some important functions in the provinces.

In consequence of the alteration in the system of administration, all the outlying pashalics were immediately under and in communication with the central Government, and all appeals were directed to be made to Constantinople to be decided by the Grand Council of Justice. Midhat twice had charge of local secretariats under the Council—first at Konieh, and secondly at Costamouni. No positions could give him a greater insight into the working of the administration than these, and he was enabled to perceive what the shortcomings in the system were. He performed his duties in such an able manner, evincing such high views and clearness of judgment, that the Grand Vizier at once interested himself in his behalf. Rushid Pasha, who at that time occupied that post, was a man ever on the alert to obtain the services of men of ability for the State. He perceived the great qualifications of Midhat, and, calling him to the capital, nominated him as chief of the Bureau of Reports. The labours entailed on Midhat were very onerous, as they included a supervision of the reports from every branch of the service. The confidence placed in him was fully justified, and his management of the Bureau obtained for him further recognition in the appointment of second secretary to the Grand Council. This body, though in name a supreme court of appeal invested with great powers, was limited in its action by that partiality which ever exercises a baneful influence on all Turkish institutions. It wanted the independence of British courts, and family relationship always had great weight in the decisions arrived at. It can easily be seen that Midhat's position as a simple secretary was surrounded by difficulties. His duty often involved the performance of things quite antagonistic to his sense of justice. He was compelled to abstain from bringing his own impressions prominently forward, for had he done so the jealousy of his superiors would have found a means for curtailing for ever his sphere of action. As it was, notwithstanding his great tact, his promotion was too rapid, and, in the usual order of events, he lost his appointment. He had made many enemies, and their machinations brought about this result. Not content, however, with depriving him of his post, the conspirators, as they may be termed, succeeded

in having him despatched on what they considered an expedition which it was impossible for him to bring to a successful issue. This was the suppression of brigandage which had broken out in Roumelia, owing to the Crimean War, which was raging at that time. Although this mission was simply a snare, Midhat was equal to the task. He saw the condition of things at a glance. In Roumelia the brigands were composed of two entirely different sets—the one who robbed for robbery's sake, and the other who pillaged for a livelihood. In the case of the first set, composed of natives of the country, he employed severe repressive measures, and carried them out with energy and promptitude; while with regard to the second class, Circassian refugees from Russian oppression (co-religionists of the Turks, who while seeking a refuge offered their services), he suppressed them also with a strong hand, but at the same time took steps to establish them in the country of their adoption. This he did, knowing that they had been led to plunder and rapine through destitution. Punishing with severity the ringleaders, he collected the rest into camps, supplied them with the necessaries of life, agricultural implements, and land, and so transformed them into an agricultural population, adding thereby to the strength of the Government, and introducing a powerful counter-influence against native malcontents in the district. This success astonished and confounded his foes; they could no longer prevent his advancement. The Government, as a recognition of his services, gave him a seat at the Grand Council, with corresponding rank. At that time most of the allied troops of England and France were collected in Constantinople. It was necessary to supply them with billets, commissariat, and the means of transport, besides attendance for the sick and wounded. A great deal of trouble ensued. Matters were referred to the Grand Council, and owing to the action of Midhat the apparently insurmountable difficulties were cleared away, and the most efficient services were rendered. The commanders of the allied forces joined in thanks to Midhat, but for whose instrumentality much inconvenience would have been caused.

Soon another opportunity occurred for the exercise of his abilities. A young Bulgarian female named Nédrella was found murdered. Rumour traced the crime to the Pasha commanding at Varna, who, it was said, had ordered her death. Popular indignation, fomented by secret enemies of Turkey, rose to a great height. The principality was on the verge of revolt, and repressive measures were adopted by the Governments of Silistria and Widdin. Brigandage became the order of the day, and the country was fast becoming the scene of constant acts of recrimination. In this crisis Midhat was despatched to restore matters to their abnormal condition. On his arrival he at once set to work to close the Servia-Bulgarian frontier, convinced that the trouble had come from the neighbouring principality. His surmises proved correct, for on the erection of guard-houses, occupied by regular troops, along the border the brigands disappeared as if by enchantment. Having put an end to the attacks of these robbers, he proceeded to investigate the causes of the revolt. He released some five hundred peasantry, who had been arrested by the authorities, as they were only the tools of their chiefs. He seized at Widdin two hundred headmen, principally judges and village chiefs, and from them obtained the plan of the insurrection which was really their aim. The ringleaders he despatched to Constantinople, but sent the others back to their homes with the understanding that he would hold them responsible for any future acts of violence in their respective villages. Here was the strongest evidence of administrative capacity. With Eastern nations there is a peculiar feature, that headmen are able in almost every case to preserve order. The lower classes are led absolutely by the chiefs of the villages, and any pressure on

the latter has an effect on the whole district. This is exemplified in those countries where European rule has been introduced. Wherever this plan has been adopted, perfect quiet prevails, but in the absence of such measures frequent troubles take place.

The history of Midhat's life, and the success which attended his administration of the provinces of the Turkish Empire, might teach a lesson to our own officials in their connection with Eastern peoples. Especially is this so in our possessions in the Eastern Archipelago, where, owing to an abandoning of the system of local headmen, troubles prevail to an inordinate extent. Of European nations none have been so successful as the Dutch, who in Java have adopted a policy almost identical with that of Midhat. They instituted a complete system of headmen for each of the nationalities under their rule, and the Malay Pungulhus and Captain Chinamen have conduced to the peaceful condition of the Netherlands Indian possessions. The reverse is the case in the British Colonies of the Straits Settlements. In these, secret societies are in the ascendent. Antagonism to the Government is a common feature of their actions. Pursuing the erroneous idea that civilised laws in their entirety are suited for uncivilised nations, British rule has not met with as much success as might have been; for although the Union Jack invariably collects and improves commerce, and under British rule life and property are well secured, yet this fault in the administration militates against that prosperity which should succeed the introduction of civilisation. In this matter Russia has taken a leaf out of the book of good Eastern rulers, and the proceedings of the Government officials in Turkestan have proved the value of the policy. The advance of Russia in the East, and the consolidation of her power towards India, is owing in no small measure to the plan of adopting national customs so far as they are compatible with modern civilisation. The Muscovite officers understand the necessity of this, and while fomenting the hatred of races in countries not under their rule, they are careful to promote intercourse between the various nationalities whom they govern. On the one hand causing dissension by continuing this antagonism, while on the other they consolidate their own power by abolishing it.

The prompt and energetic action of Midhat in Bulgaria quelled the conspiracy, and in an incredibly short space of time complete order was restored, and he returned once more to Constantinople.

After accomplishing the object for which he had been sent to Roumelia, Midhat made a tour of the European capitals, and during a sojourn of some years in them occupied his time in making himself master of the various institutions which tend to make up the power of Western nations. The liberal constitutions which came under his notice impressed him to such an extent that he laid down a regular scheme for their introduction into Turkey, and it was not long before he had an opportunity for carrying his ideas into effect. He studied carefully the various organisations, and formulated a scheme in which the shortcomings of the Turkish rule were clearly laid open. His period of leave was occupied by more work than his terms of office, and a journey undertaken for rest was occupied in a careful and scientific elaboration of a new constitution for his country. On his return he was made first Secretary of the Grand Council, and occupied the post for three years, when he received the titles of Vizier and Pasha, and was sent as Governor to Nish in 1860. On assuming office, he discovered that the province had been much neglected, and at once set to work to improve its condition, directing his attention to the subject of internal communication. Well acquainted with the means at hand for accomplishing this, he made strict investigation as to whether the right to call all the able-bodied men out for State work had been exercised. It was discovered that nothing had been done for some years. So

Midhat at once issued a proclamation that the right would be enforced, and ordered one portion out at once. These men he set to work on road-making, and at the end of the regulation period of thirty days proceeded to view the result. In his opinion, the labourers who had so long been free from the requisition had slurred over their work, and in consequence he directed them to continue for other thirty days. Resistance was out of the question. The men finding a master over them commenced in earnest, and, when the time was up, what they had accomplished was sufficient to have pleased the severest taskmaster alive. The news of this spread abroad, each levy strove hard to keep up to the standard of its successful predecessor, so that in the end the villayet of the Danube in a very short period stood in the first rank for means of travelling. By his energetic measures he improved his district, and gained a hold on the people, who are ever ready to respect a ruler who keeps them well in hand. Amongst other matters to which he turned his attention, the most prominent was that of improving the moral and social condition of the people. To attain this it was necessary to institute a proper system for the administration of justice. He clearly defined the duties of the various officers, and issued instructions as to the *modus operandi* in all the local courts. He promoted the introduction of the Christian element into the administrative councils, which he made permanent. Establishments were re-modelled. Government departments were reserved to one class, while the municipal duties were attached to the elders of the various towns to whom all such matters were entrusted. Many abuses were remedied, and the collection of taxes was duly regulated under strict supervision. One of his attempts at reform, however, did not terminate favourably. Amongst the European institutions he had seen, orphanages struck Midhat as worthy of being copied, so he next set about forming an establishment of the kind. A building was speedily erected, and an efficient staff of officials organised. When all was ready zealous officers were sent to secure inmates. The country was scoured from one end to the other, but no orphans were forthcoming. Midhat was in despair. At last a Zaptieh appeared leading a ragged urchin, whom he had discovered by the roadside. The diminutive personage was received in a befitting manner. Midhat arrived post-haste to see that the establishment fulfilled his mission. Everything went perfectly smoothly, and there was great rejoicing. For a few days all was peace and quietness; but one morning a venerable Turk arrived at the orphanage and demanded his grandson, who had, he alleged, been kidnapped. The orphan was produced, and flew at once to the arms of his natural protector, to whom, of course, he was given up. The aged Mohamedan made a representation to the Porte, when his enemies, glad of an opportunity to censure him, obtained an adverse verdict, and Midhat's zeal received a check, and the orphanage collapsed.

This *contretemps* did not efface the determination to reform Turkey. But, as it was a task not easy to accomplish, Midhat laid himself out to gain additional strength by party support. The Young Turkey section of politicians afforded the best sphere for action, and to it he consequently allied himself. The success of Midhat in the administration of Nish brought him further into notice, and the measures he had adopted were eventually so much approved of that it was decided to apply them to the whole of the empire. In consequence of this resolution, he was recalled to Constantinople, where the Sultan received him with honour. In private audience he laid his plans before his Sovereign, and detailed his views. He proved the many advantages which would accrue to the empire by a judicious assimilation of races. He strongly advocated the granting of religious freedom, and, overcoming the bigotry which is inherent to the Mohamedan faith, succeeded in bringing the Sultan over to his side. The

flourishing condition to which he had brought Nish and the neighbourhood added weight to his arguments, and he was complimented on all sides. As the favourite of the hour his words were as law, and the Sultan decided to follow his plans. He was directed, in conjunction with Fuad and Ali Pashas, to prepare a new code of laws, and at once set about the task. In the meetings which were held the opinions of Midhat prevailed, his strength of mind overcame the obstacles placed in his way by his coadjutors, and the "Villayet Law" which was drawn up may be taken as his entirely. The principal features of this new act of reform were that it divided the principalities into well-defined districts, in each of which regular courts were to be established for the trial of criminal, civil, and commercial cases. Each court had distinct powers, so that there was no admixture of jurisdiction. A higher court of appeal was formed in the capital, and, above all, a non-Mussulman element was introduced into the courts. When the statute was drawn up it was decided to apply its provisions to the villayet of the Danube, composed of the pashalics of Nish, Widdin, and Silistria, and Midhat was despatched to carry them out. When he arrived, it was only to find a chaos in every branch of the administration. The reforms ordered by the Government had never been brought about, and the principality was wanting in everything which appertains to a civilised administration. His absence had been a severe check to the progress he had inaugurated, and things even where he had reformed them were again fast lapsing into a state of semi-barbarism. In three years a complete transformation took place. Roads were made, bridges were erected, and three schools of art were formed at Rustchuk, Nish, and Sophia. The revenue was raised from £T.1,500,000 to £T.1,870,000. His energy was catching, and all the officials partook of his zeal. The capital of the villayet, Rustchuk, received particular attention, and was embellished with public gardens, theatres, and quays, so that it was completely Europeanised. These innovations, it is needless to say, caused a great deal of jealousy. Malcontents raised a revolt. But in Midhat they had to deal with a man of unusual energy and decision His prompt action in a very short time crushed the rebellion and restored order. Fuad Pasha took the opportunity afforded him by the remarkable progress made by this one able man to point out to Europe the capability of Turkey to reform herself, and that there was no necessity for foreign interference. This argument became the strong point of resistance to external pressure, and so long as Fuad remained in power things went on well enough. But owing to intrigues in the Palace, a change took place in the Ministry, Fuad Pasha fell, and Midhat, seeing the struggle which was about to commence, allied himself to the Young Turkey section of politicians. He calmed their violence, and by his judicious yet firm demeanour gave his party that strength which they otherwise would have lacked. Based on sound political principles, the aim of this party was to insure for the people a share in the administration. To raise them from the position of slaves to that of free men, and to expunge that element of favouritism which has been the stumbling-block in Turkey to all progress, Midhat amongst these agitators soon took a prominent place in consequence of his powerful reasoning and his oratorical abilities. Becoming very popular amongst the members of this party, he was soon elected its leader, and in due course he was recalled to Constantinople, and received the appointment of President of the Council of State, with the organisation of which he was entrusted. Shortly after his appointment another rebellion broke out in Bulgaria, and once more, as the only man fit to deal with the affair, Midhat was sent to the scene; as in similar cases, he very soon restored order. At that time the Ottoman Empire passed through a severe crisis. The Vizier, Mehemet Rushid, together with the members of his Cabinet, planned and carried out the deposition of the then reigning Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, whose

successor, Murad, was placed on the throne. This latter sovereign was in his turn deposed, having shown signs of madness, and the present ruler, Hamid, took his place.

After the lapse of a year, during which he occupied the position of President, Midhat accepted the post of Governor of Bagdad. Here, again, the same energy brought the same results as in the villayet of the Danube. The country became changed. Tramways were introduced in the capital, a school of art was formed, and railways projected. He reduced rebellious Arabs to obedience, and entirely restored the power of Turkey amongst a turbulent race. Possessing still the nomadic proclivities which have become a by-word, the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, although staunch followers of Mohamed, have a great antipathy to organised rule. As the Prophet was one of themselves, they arrogate a superiority which rebels against restraint, and are averse to even the sovereignty of the recognised head of the Mohamedan faith. But Midhat was too much for them. They could not resist his power, both physical and mental, and the result of his successful engagements and diplomatic negotiations was that the most powerful of the chiefs went personally to Constantinople, and rendered homage to the Sultan, by whom he was made a Pasha. While Midhat was in Bagdad, a serious revolt was organised. He was at dinner when the news was brought. Maintaining a calm bearing, he gave orders for the despatch of troops to the various quarters, and summoned the headmen. On their arrival he quietly told them that unless the place was quiet in two hours he would burn the city and take them all to Constantinople. At the same time he gave orders for steam to be got up on board the steamers on the Tigris. His menace had its effect. The chiefs saw he was in earnest, and bowing to a superior will, soon settled matters. Soon after, the Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, died, and Mohamed Nedim succeeded to the office. On this event taking place, a retrograde movement commenced. Nedim was one of the old school. In his eyes the Sultan, the Grand Vizier, and the Sheik-ul-Islam constituted the State, and any innovations met with his entire disapproval. Turkey was not to be reformed. The ancient *régime* was sufficient. Russian intrigue saw a chance for getting rid of Midhat, whose reforms worked against the machinations of the Czar's advisers. The result was that, in 1871, through the jealousy of Nedim Pasha, Grand Vizier, Midhat was dismissed from his post and ordered into exile. Before proceeding to the place appointed as his abode he returned to Constantinople, sought an interview with the Sultan, and in firm language justified his own acts, and condemned those of his enemies as destructive to the empire. His words were so effective, that the Sultan revoked the order of exile, and appointed him Grand Vizier! But his fall was as rapid almost as his exaltation. In three months he was again dismissed, and remained some time without office. Subsequently, for a few months he governed Salonica, but returned to Constantinople, and remained there till 1875, when he was made Minister of Justice. In consequence of the re-instalment of Nedim in the office of Grand Vizier, Midhat resigned.

In addition to these internal troubles, outward disturbances darkened the political atmosphere, and the discontented Slav populations under Ottoman rule appealed to Europe for protection. In response to repeated suggestions from Russia, the Christian nations of Europe took up the question, and pressure was brought to bear on the Porte, with the view of obtaining concessions for the tributary and now rebellious States. Early in 1876 Midhat published a scheme of administrative reform, and on the 19th of December of that year was again raised to the high office of Grand Vizier. He then promulgated the new Turkish Constitution, and the comprehensiveness of his proposed measures gained for him much praise. One of the main features of the scheme was, that he undertook on behalf of Turkey



COUNT ANDRASSY

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IT is the peculiarity of Continental nations that many of their leading statesmen are soldiers, and many of their soldiers statesmen. In England the case is different. the scarlet tunic or the steel cuirass very rarely peeping from beneath the robes of office. It is true the political destinies of this country, at particular periods, have been guided by the glaivèd hand; but in free and constitutional England the people have always looked with suspicion on Protectors like Cromwell and on Premiers like the Duke of Wellington. With such men the imperious manner of the camp is all too apt to betray itself in the council-chamber, and the caution of the diplomatist to give way to the masterful impetuosity of the dragoon. But there are instances in history where the man of thought and the man of action are equally united, where the determined courage of the warrior is beautifully blended with the sagacious pliancy of the statesman; and no better example of such a rare combination of qualities could be found than in Julius Andrassy (pronounced *Andrashee*), Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sometimes the Count is referred to as Chancellor of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but the designation is inaccurate. In succeeding Count Beust, who bore the title of Reichs-Kanzler, Count Andrassy declined to adopt it, out of regard for the scruples of his Hungarian fellow-countrymen, who might see in it something to remind them of the former centralist and absolute *régime*, and deem it incompatible with the dualist constitution created by the compromise of 1867. The Count, therefore, will only allow himself to be called Common Minister of Foreign Affairs for Austria-Hungary; but, being head and President of the Common Ministry, he in reality enjoys the position of Chancellor and Prime Minister of the Empire

Gyula Andrássy de Csik-Szent Király and Krasznа-Horka—to give him his full title—was born on the 28th of March, 1823, at Zemplin, his family being one of the oldest and most illustrious in Hungary. Kossuth, too, first saw the light, about twenty years previously, in the same district, which is remarkable for having been the birthplace or the scene of action of some of the greatest Hungarian revolutionists. The Austrian Minister is the second son of Count Charles Andrassy, who displayed the utmost zeal and activity in promoting the scientific and industrial progress of his country, dying at Brussels in 1845. His mother, belonging to the old and illustrious house of Szápáry, was descended on the maternal side from the now extinct male line of the once powerful race of Drugeth de Homonay, that race which, as an Hungarian historian puts it, "had a mighty influence on their country's weal and woe" Young Andrassy, whose education was begun at home, received the utmost possible benefit in travelling through various parts of Europe, accompanied by his father, in whose schemes of industrial reform he was an eager coadjutor. On the death of his accomplished parent, he succeeded, while still a very young man, to the Presidency of the Society for Regulating the Course of the Theiss: his early career thus curiously resembling that of his great contemporary, Prince Bismarck, who,

as District Inspector of Dykes when a young country squire, devoted himself to damming in the Elbe. But though thus to some accidental extent similar, the characters and subsequent careers of the two Chancellors were very different. The Prussian Junker was the sworn foe of Democracy; the Hungarian Hussar became the triumphant champion of Revolution. The former created an Empire, the latter, to a certain extent, undid one; and the earlier history of Count Andrassy is the history of how Home Rule was achieved for Hungary.

Created originally towards the close of the ninth century to protect the Empire against the invading tendencies of the Magyars, who had founded a kingdom on the banks of the Danube and the Theiss, the *East-mark*, or *Ost-reich*, gradually asserted supremacy over the Turanian settlers, till towards the middle of the sixteenth century the Crown of Hungary passed to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, and ever since then the monarchy of St. Stephen, curiously enough, has formed part of the archducal dominions of the House of Hapsburg. The Hungarians, however, though continuing to enjoy certain constitutional privileges, could never become thoroughly reconciled to the sway of Austria, and though contented at times, when seized with the *moriamur-pro-rege-nostro* enthusiasm, they could never altogether cease hankering after Home Rule. Uprisings in their history are rife, nor were they unaffected by the great wave of revolution which passed over Europe in 1848. Scarcely had news of the Paris explosion reached Pesth when the Magyar mine was fired. Headed by Kossuth, the Hungarians stood up for their ancient constitution with certain reforms, nor would they acknowledge Francis Joseph, who succeeded Ferdinand in Austria, because the act of abdication by which he claimed the throne was unlawful according to the laws of Hungary. The Pragmatic Sanction, they declared, was the fundamental political contract regulating the succession to their throne which the Hungarians in 1723 concluded with the King of Hungary, the ancestor of the present reigning family, and by this the Hungarians gave the female line of the Hapsburgs the right to rule over them, on the express condition only of their swearing solemnly to govern according to the existing laws of the country, or according to the laws that might in future be made. The Emperor Joseph II., who was never crowned in Hungary, governed that kingdom absolutely, but its inhabitants never recognised him as their lawful sovereign. Maria Theresa was the first "king" who, in virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, ascended the throne of Hungary, and she faithfully fulfilled all the conditions of that contract. Leopold II, the second Hungarian king, who succeeded on the death of Joseph II., took the usual coronation oath and signed an inaugural diploma, besides sanctioning the laws of 1790, which guaranteed to Hungary all her ancient rights and privileges. Francis I, again, began his reign by guaranteeing the maintenance of the rights, liberties, and laws of the nation, while Ferdinand V (the abdicating Emperor Ferdinand I. of Austria) gave similar guarantees at the beginning of his reign, and sanctioned the laws of 1848. By the Pragmatic Sanction the Hungarians were united in the "person" of the sovereign, but there was no trace in their laws, they maintained, of a "real" union between the two countries, and a "real" union was what Francis Joseph desired to accomplish.

Into the revolutionary movement, therefore, which convulsed the dominions of Austria during the years 1848-49, Count Julius Andrassy, then an ardent young man of about twenty-five, flung himself heart and soul. But though young, he was not without political and military experience. Sent so early as 1844 to represent Zemplin in the Diet, Lord-Lieutenant (Obergespan) of his county, and commander of the Honveds of his district, he had distinguished himself in all these capacities, proving himself to be a brilliant speaker and a well-informed writer. Not content, moreover, with using the weapon of debate, he seized the sword, and in 1849

led a force of his countrymen against Vienna. But although the Hungarians fought bravely and gained several victories, their strength was weakened by divided counsels, and what the Austrians could not alone achieve, the Russians, foes of all revolution, stepped in to accomplish. When the national government, directed by Kossuth, withdrew from Pesth to Debreczin, Count Andrassy, a dashing soldier, but more valuable as a diplomatist, was sent on a political mission to Constantinople, and while there news reached him of the catastrophe of Villagos and the end of the insurrection. To the fact of his absence at Stamboul he probably owed his life. Under the Austrian General Haynau a second reign of terror ensued in Hungary, and all the military and political leaders of the Revolution were shot, hanged, or flung into prison. Count Andrassy himself was condemned to death and executed in effigy; but the Turks, ethnically akin to the Magyars, refused to extradite the refugees at the risk of involving themselves in a war. For the next eight years young Andrassy wandered about the world as an outlaw and an exile, residing chiefly in France and England, where he made the acquaintance of the leaders of politics and society, carefully studied the constitutions of these two countries, and learned how to achieve by patience and argument what he had failed to bring about by force. Profiting by an amnesty, he returned home in 1857, and the war in Italy having dealt a death-blow to absolutism and opened up to the Hungarians the prospect of recovering their liberties, Count Andrassy once more entered political life. He had refused to hold office under the Austrian Government as administrator of Zemplin, but in 1860 he was returned to the Diet as member for that county, and appointed Vice-President. The friend and fellow-worker of the famous patriot, Francis Déak, he now began to take a prominent part in that memorable struggle by legal means which lasted seven years, and which resulted in the establishment of the Kingdom of St. Stephen and in the compromise of 1867. In May, 1861, the Diet met to consider whether they should demand the restoration of the laws of 1848 by an address to the Crown or by a revolution. Francis Déak, leading the Moderates, and powerfully supported by Count Andrassy, argued in favour of the former course as being more likely to insure them success. "In former times," he said, "the disputes between the sovereign and the Hungarian nation arose from two parties giving different interpretations to the laws, the validity of which was recognised by both. At present the Austrian Government is trying to force Hungary to accept a Constitution as a boon in lieu of those fundamental laws to which she is so warmly attached. On the side of Hungary are right and justice, on the other side is physical force. During the last twelve years we have suffered grievous wrongs. The Constitution which we inherited from our forefathers was taken from us; we were governed in an absolute way, and patriotism was considered a crime. Suddenly his Majesty resolved to 'enter the path of constitutionalism,' and the Diploma of the 20th October, 1860, appeared. That document encroaches on our constitutional independence, inasmuch as it transfers to a foreign assembly (the Reichsrath) the right to grant the supplies of money and men, and makes the Hungarian Government dependent on the Austrian, which is not responsible for its acts. If Hungary accepted the October diploma she would cease to be herself—she would be an Austrian province. We must, therefore, solemnly declare that we insist on the restoration of our constitutional independence and self-government, which we consider the fundamental principle of our national existence. We can on no account allow the right to vote the supplies of men and money to be taken from us. We will not make laws for other countries, and will share our right to legislate for Hungary with no one but the king. We will neither send deputies to the Reichsrath, nor take any share in the representation of the Empire." Count Andrassy spoke still more resolutely in defence of his country's independence. The nationalities

of the Empire, he said, must choose between centralisation and federation. Centralisation and absolutism would necessarily go hand in hand. If the principle of duality were recognised, he argued, and Austria had a free constitution, a union between the Empire and Hungary might easily be effected. The position of Austria, however, as a great Power would be better secured by the principle of duality than by that of unity; and the Hungarians, he declared, would continue to insist on the restoration of the laws of 1848. Francis Déak, the venerable Nestor of the Hungarian nation—who inspired it and directed its counsels, but who would never accept power himself—discerned in Count Andrassy the man of action best fitted to carry out his plans. Left to the Parliaments of Pesth and Vienna, the conflict might continue any length of time. To bring about a speedy and favourable issue there was need of a diplomatist, an able negotiator, a man knowing how to deal with the Court and political leaders at Vienna, how to convince them, and how to gain them over Count Andrassy was singularly well adapted to the task. Gifted with a clear and penetrating mind, a lively fancy, great persuasive power, and possessing in the highest degree the charms of personal fascination, he managed to conquer the heart and confidence of Francis Joseph; he succeeded in conciliating the good graces of the Empress Elizabeth, who became transformed into a real Hungarian; and he contrived, so to speak, to disarm the Archduke Albert himself and the other high personages of the Court and the army. In short, he achieved a work of high diplomacy in rendering acceptable to the Government of Vienna the basis of the compromise which was afterwards discussed and adopted in all its details by the two Parliaments of Austria and Hungary. He was thus, with Déak, the restorer of the kingdom of St. Stephen and of the Hungarian Constitution, and with Count Beust the creator of the dualist organisation of the monarchy. On the 24th of February, 1867, Count Andrassy announced to the Diet his appointment as President of the Ministry, submitting, at the same time, a list of his colleagues It was a proud moment for these patriotic statesmen who, without passion or violence, had achieved Home Rule for Hungary, and restored it to its old place in the Austrian state-system On the 8th June the solemn coronation of Francis Joseph with the Crown of St. Stephen at Pesth symbolised the final reconciliation with his Magyar subjects. Hungary then started afresh on the path of political life, with a representation of the people based on the most liberal law of election; a ministry dependent on parliamentary control; a constitution with the highest guarantees and the solemn oath of her sovereign to preserve it; the undivided rule of her native government over the entire territory of the Crown of St. Stephen; the fullest measure of religious freedom, an unlimited amnesty, and an army of her own.

Free now to pursue the path of internal reform, Count Andrassy set himself to the task with energy. Prominent among his acts was the conclusion of a loan of a hundred millions, destined to the construction of railways, and the bringing in of a Bill bestowing civil and political equality to all Jews in the kingdom—a measure which was received with the utmost *enthusiasm In the spring of 1873 the Count obtained the Emperor's* consent to introduce a Bill, taking the election of members of the Reichsrath out of the hands of the Provincial Diets and transferring it to the body of the electors in the several provinces, thus substituting direct for indirect representation; and this measure was hailed with great satisfaction, as giving the Empire real independence and establishing the Government on a broader and more solid basis For the period of nearly five years, however, during which Count Andrassy was President of the Hungarian Ministry, he was more of the diplomatist than the administrator. Leaving the cares of internal administration to his colleagues, he busied himself chiefly with creating and assuring for Hungary an honourable position abroad, aiming to

place her in all respects on a footing of equality with Austria, and realising the principle of parity between the two halves of the monarchy which is the basis of their dualism. In a word, he converted Hungary into a veritable kingdom, with a Court and all the administrative machinery of a Power possessing 16,000,000 inhabitants. He freely gave whatever influence the constitution lent him as President of the Hungarian Council to Count Beust in support of all his foreign policy, and, along with the latter, attended the interview at Salzbourg between Napoleon III. and Francis Joseph. He also accompanied the Emperor, with his Chancellor, to the Paris Exhibition of 1867. He took an active part in the diplomatic action occasioned by the Franco-German War, and again in the negotiations which led to the Black Sea Conference at London, in 1871. Grateful to Prussia, however, for the share she had contributed towards facilitating the compromise of 1867, he had been the constant advocate of an alliance with Germany ever since his accession to office. In the eyes of Count Andrassy, Austria—now become Austria-Hungary—had nothing to look for either in Germany or in Italy, but should thenceforth rather turn her political thoughts to the East. Possessing such opinions, therefore, it was no wonder that on the dismissal of Count Beust from the control of foreign affairs, in November, 1871, Count Andrassy was pressingly invited to become his substitute, and promote that reconciliation with Germany which had now become a political necessity. His departure, in November, 1871, from Pesth was the subject of very wide and deep regret in Hungary. Installed on the Ballplatz at Vienna, a circular dispatch from his pen announced his intention to adhere in most respects to the line of policy pursued by his predecessor. Corresponding to the newly-acquired sense of peace within the monarchy was the friendly attitude of the other Powers. The Prussian Press Bureau received special directions from the Chancellor to hail the appointment of the new Austrian Minister as the pledge of lasting amity between the two Empires, and to assure Count Andrassy of full confidence in the highest circles of Berlin. Count Beust, it is true, had partly prepared public feeling for the transfer of Austrian sympathy from France to victorious Prussia, though this he did with a smile in one eye and a tear in the other, and it was Count Andrassy more than any other man who, recognising and accepting accomplished facts, strove to heal the wounds inflicted by the war of 1866. In reconciling the two Empires, however, he had a very difficult task. Court and military influences and clerical intrigue had all to be overcome, but the will of the Foreign Minister, acting on the good sense of Francis Joseph, ultimately prevailed, and he had the satisfaction of seeing the final triumph of his policy in the meeting of the three Emperors at Berlin, in September, 1872. Next year the German Emperor received an equally enthusiastic reception from the inhabitants of Vienna, and Count Andrassy had then the gratification of seeing his work of reconciliation completed.

What, however, has chiefly engaged the attention of the Count since his accession to office is the Eastern Question. The monarchy had an especial interest in the settlement of this long-standing difficulty. On the principle that a man must be anxious for the safety of his own dwelling when the house of his neighbour is in flames, Austria felt that the peace and tranquillity of her own heterogeneous races were jeopardised by the perpetually recurring revolts and uprisings in those countries under the sway of the Porte conterminous to her. Count Andrassy soon became convinced that the time was fast approaching when the sick man must undergo a crucial surgical operation. On assuming the portfolio of foreign affairs, therefore, he felt it was necessary above all things to rectify the error of his predecessor, and adopt a clearly defined attitude to Turkey on the one hand and to Russia on the other. In achieving this he was firm and unprejudiced. Though heart and soul a Magyar, and remembering the events of

1848-49, he now completely abandoned the national stand-point, and gave the Hungarians a conspicuous example of self-denial by honestly shaking the proffered hand of Russia. Prince Gortschakoff, with equal candour, returned the confidence which was extended to him. Soon after the Berlin meeting, therefore, the official press announced that Austria would no longer unconditionally support the tottering Turkish fabric. She had given up her traditional policy in the East, and would not continue to be the prop and protection of effete and semi-barbarous states, though, at the same time, she had no desire to precipitate the catastrophe. These were the maxims which guided his Eastern policy, and events soon ripened which called for a further development of his plans. The Turkish Government had declared itself insolvent in the autumn of 1875. Insurrection still smouldered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Servia and Montenegro, and the three Emperors, previously united by the bond of an ostensibly cordial alliance, deemed themselves called upon to tender to the Porte a scheme of administrative reform calculated to pacify the insurgents. The task of drawing up the project being intrusted to the Austrian Chancellor, the latter, early in 1876, prepared a Note, which was ultimately approved by all the Powers and formally accepted by the Sultan, though no beneficial effect was thereby produced on the state of the Ottoman provinces. Then followed further troubles in Turkey: the Berlin Memorandum, the Constantinople Conference, the London Protocol, the declaration of war, the victories of Russia, and the final assembling of the Berlin Congress, originally convoked and clung to through all the difficulties in its way by Count Andrassy. How he, moreover, conspicuous among the plenipotentiaries by his gay uniform, acquitted himself at the council board must still be fresh in the memory of Europe. No one was more patient, more flexible, yet firm, more eager for peace. When a deadlock arose between Russia and England on the subject of Bulgaria, it was he who, foreseeing the inevitable consequences of the difference, hastened to Prince Bismarck and implored him to use his mediatorial influence between the disputants. The Count had conceived and guided the course of his policy in such a way as not to compromise it before the assembling of the Powers. Pledged to observe a strict neutrality, provided the interests of the monarchy were not affected, he had remained unmoved by the clamours of his Magyar countrymen for intervention in favour of Turkey; and it was only in imitation of England that he asked and finally obtained a vote of £6,000,000 to make ready for all emergencies in the event of Russia seriously interfering with the welfare of Austria. Feeling that her interests were on the same side as those of England, the Count's attitude was in a great measure harmonised with that of Lord Beaconsfield, and the other Powers were gained over by mutual concessions to a scheme which all had foreseen from the beginning. Thus it was that Austria was intrusted with the occupation of these two provinces; thus was she commissioned by Europe to re-establish order in those conterminous parts of Turkey wherein she had a primary interest, and prevent them from forming centres of disturbance in the future, as they had done in the past. Whether, however, Austria will restore these broken vessels, when mended, to their proper owner, or whether she will apply the *beati possidentes* principle alluded to by Bismarck with respect to the Russians at Stamboul, time can only show, but the determined opposition met with by the imperial troops on crossing the Save showed that a far more difficult task had been undertaken than was dreamt of.

"Count Andrassy," said a correspondent of the *Times*, who had frequent opportunities of observing him at Berlin, "is a kind of accentuated Lord Beaconsfield. The English minister has an oriental imagination tempered by the practice of liberty; the Austrian minister has an imagination still more pronounced. he has about him, as it were, something of the wandering

races of Hungary, who do not dare to reveal their ardent dreams even to themselves The physiognomy of the Hungarian minister is a faithful reflection of this peculiar cast of his mind. The sharp, deep lines of his head, his bright and restless eye, his vigorous chin, his nervous gait, and the vivacity of his expression, all indicate an irresistible will at the service of a fertile and indefatigable imagination. He is, at the same time, a man of great suppleness and patience, something like one of those Zingari hunters who, not daring to fire a gun for fear of the echo, watch for whole days to throw the lasso round the neck of the wild horse they have determined to capture." Count Andrassy, too, presents several sharp points of contrast with his colleague, Prince Bismarck. The German Chancellor would never have patience to display the deferential regard for everything and every one expected of the Austrian minister; and though the former may sometimes justify a breach of parliamentary rules by the success which attends his measures, the latter has an undoubted advantage over his somewhat Straffordian friend. Whereas Bismarck was only late in life converted to parliamentary ways, Andrassy is an old and experienced debater, accustomed from his earliest youth to the methods and discipline of representative assemblies, and deriving strength from the fact of his having been born and educated in a country which, even in the most trying times, could never be brought to altogether abandon the principle of publicity and the free interchange of opinion. In quick-wittedness and readiness in reply the Count is unquestionably superior to Bismarck; and if his speeches are not so finished, so elaborately detailed, and so ornate as those of his predecessor in office, still, his candour and unadorned statement procure him far greater success than attended the oratorical efforts of Count Beust, who would not shrink from Machiavellian means, and who had a tendency to deceive himself and others as to the danger and gravity of a situation. The good relations between Austria and Germany may be guessed from the friendliness existing between the two Chancellors. In the course of a debate on the Eastern Question in the Reichstag, on the 19th of February, 1878, Bismarck said he had much pleasure in regarding himself as the personal friend of Count Andrassy. "He is," he said, "as sure of my telling him the truth as I am of his telling me the truth. I confess that in former years I did not believe a word of what he told me, and regarded his every asseveration as so much moonshine; but all is changed now, and any attempt to make us suspect each other's designs will be fruitless."

Count Andrassy is the genius of caution and of compromise. Member of an ardent and impulsive race, he has nevertheless learned to act with impartial coolness and judgment, and to rise superior to the passions of mere party interests. Hungarian by race, he is nevertheless Austrian in politics; and though a Roman Catholic in religion, he has shown that he is not blind to the relations which ought to exist between Church and State. With many statesmen patriotism is merely another name for national prejudice; but though a fervent lover of his country, Count Andrassy is not blind to its defects, and those who clamour so loudly for autonomy to Ireland would do well to study carefully how Home Rule has been achieved for Hungary. Without being a Fabius Cunctator, he is, on the other hand, not a headlong Curtius cavalier; and though possessed of an inflexible will, he has the knack of achieving his purpose without ruffling the sensibilities of his opponents—one of those persuasive men, indeed, who, in asking a favour, seem but to confer one. Prince Bismarck's method is to wrathfully storm a fortress offhand, and put the garrison to the sword, but the light Hungarian Hussar prefers to acquire the citadel by starving its holders out, and letting them go without their arms. Louis Philippe was called the modern Ulysses, but the term might be more fitly applied to



PRESIDENT HAYES

Rutherford Birchard Hayes.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, President of the United States of America, is a descendant of New England Puritans, and their force of character has been reproduced in him. The first of the family who emigrated to America was one George Hayes, a Scotchman, and he settled at Windsor, Connecticut, in 1682. His son Daniel was captured by the Indians and kept in captivity for five years, but was eventually ransomed by act of the Colonial Assembly, which appropriated—so the record runs—£7 to be paid out of the public treasury for the purpose. Ezekiel, a scythe maker, the son of Daniel, removed to New Haven, where the first Rutherford was born. This Rutherford Hayes, the grandfather of the present President, was first a blacksmith, then a farmer and innkeeper, and attained to considerable local celebrity. He was the father of eleven children, the fifth of whom, another Rutherford, removed to Delaware, Ohio, and followed the occupation of a farmer and merchant. Prior to his removal he married Sophia Birchard, of Wellington, Vermont, whose ancestors had emigrated from England in 1635. After the lapse of five years Rutherford Hayes died from typhoid fever, leaving his widow with two children, Lorenzo and Fanny. Some three months after his death a son was born on the 4th October, 1822, and received the names of "Rutherford Birchard," the latter after his maternal uncle, Sardis Birchard, who became the guardian of the children. Lorenzo was accidentally drowned in 1825, so that only two children survived. The name of "Hayes" is connected with valour; for one of the first of the family whose deeds are recorded was a husbandman who, with his two sons, successfully stayed an onslaught of the Danes at Lunearty, Perthshire. It is historically noted that, on seeing his countrymen retreat, he called to his sons, who were at work with him in the field, and said to them, "Pull your plow and harrow to pieces, and fight." With this timely succour the Danes were beaten, and lands were granted to the "sturdy plowman" for his bravery.

Delaware, the birthplace of President Hayes, is the centre of Ohio. It is situated twenty-five miles north-west of Columbus, and has a population of about 8,000 inhabitants. It is a brick town, and well built, and is famous for a Methodist University and white sulphur springs.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes and his sister Fanny attended the ordinary schools in Delaware, and one of their first schoolmasters is described as a little dour wiry Yankee, with a too athletic zeal for letters, which induced him to freely use the rod, and flog boys twice his bulk. The children studied together until Hayes reached his fourteenth year, and it is recorded that they read Hume and Smollett's History of England, Shakespeare, Tom Moore, and various Latin and Greek authors. They also dramatised Scott's "Lady of the Lake." In 1836 Hayes went to the Academy of Norwalk, Ohio, where he remained for one year. After this he proceeded to Middletown, Connecticut, and at the school of Isaac Webb prepared for Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. This college was founded by Bishop Chase mostly from funds collected in England. The principal subscribers were Lord Kenyon and Lord Gambier, whose names have been thus

kept green in the memories of Americans. Hayes in 1838 passed satisfactorily his examination for the freshman's class, and entered the college at once. At Middletown he was deeply engaged in translating Homer, and exercised his ingenuity in mock-heroic law pleas, and every sort of grotesque extravagance in both prose and rhyme. His career at the University was eminently satisfactory. He gained the first prize in Latin, Greek, and arithmetic; took part in the literary debates, and became the prominent member of the college, so much so, that on graduation day he was elected valedictorian, and his oratory on the occasion was much extolled on all sides. Amongst his fellow-students were the Hon. Joseph McCorkle, the Hon. R. E. Trowbridge (afterwards members for California and Michigan respectively), and Christopher Wolcott (Attorney-General of Ohio). At the end of his third year at college Hayes put in writing his estimate of his fellow students. He kept a very minute diary, and examined himself as to his motives, purposes, ideas, and aspirations He declares himself as being at that time too ready to try the edge of his wit on others, and perceiving this failing he proceeded to curb it. Whether this had the effect or not of bringing about a change in the opposite direction, he is described as painfully bashful in society From the two extremes he at last struck a medium, and, gaining wisdom from his two experiences, he aimed at being "a good man of the world." He was so much thought of at his college that after he left his career was carefully watched. In 1845 Hayes was invited back to the college to deliver the Master's oration, and in 1851 and 1853 to deliver the annual address. But he modestly declined all these honours. He was addicted to every kind of manly sports, and excelled in shooting, hunting, swimming, and skating, while as a fisherman he was especially successful. He accomplished some great feats in pedestrianism, walking forty miles home to Delaware, in twelve hours, at Christmas time, and then after vacation back to Gambier when there were four inches of snow on the ground.

The early training of Hayes had a marked effect on his after career. His excellence in field sports greatly conduced to the physical strength which has been so much exercised; while his studious habits, begun under the guidance of Judge Sherman, have been the means of gaining for him the mass of knowledge which is placed to his credit.

After graduating at college (1842), Hayes began his legal studies in the office of Sparrow and Mathews, prominent Lawyers in Columbus, where he continued for ten months. On the 22nd August, 1843, he entered the Law School at Harvard University, and graduated on the 5th July, 1845. During the period he was at Cambridge he attended the Law Institution under Mr. Justice Story, and took a leading part in the "Moots," making full notes of the trials which were held. He also attended the lectures of Longfellow, Agassiz, Webster, and John Quincey Adams. He heard Bancroft address a Democratic meeting in Boston, and the younger Dana lecture on American loyalty, and going to the theatre for the first time in his life he saw Macready in *Hamlet*. From this time Hayes took a great interest in politics, and began to study it. At Cambridge he kept up his German, French, and Greek, working at them as well as at law Indeed, the record of the rules "for the month" he laid down for study show that his time was fully occupied by hard mental work. The rules were as follow:—

First—Read no newspapers.

Second—Rise at 7, and retire at 10.

Third—Study law six hours, German two, and Chemistry two.

Fourth—In reading "Blackstone's Commentary," to record my difficulties.

They are interesting as evincing a systematic regulation of the days, and their appointment to certain fixed duties.

After leaving Cambridge Hayes went to Marietta, where the Ambulatory Court of Ohio was at that time. He passed the necessary examinations, and was admitted to practice on the 10th March, 1845. Thence he proceeded to Lower Sandusky (now Fremont), Ohio, and began practice as a lawyer, in partnership with Mr. Ralph P. Buckland. In 1848 bleeding at the lungs brought about a general break-up of health, and he was compelled to give up practice. Proceeding far away from the scene of his work, he visited an old fellow-student (Bryan) in Texas, and for six months indulged in an open-air life, occupied in hunting and all kinds of sports. The effect of this was to completely restore his health, and he returned to Fremont. In 1850 he entered into partnership with Mr. J. W. Herron, in Cincinnati, and soon brought himself into notice. He attended and recorded Emerson's lectures, and read much of his favourite author's productions. Hayes' idea in reading was "to find out what an author had to say, not to see how he said it," so that he became an adept in gathering the gist of a work by a very cursory glance at its pages. This became a particularly useful accomplishment, especially when he had subsequently to deal with masses of political writings. He was appointed by the Judge of the Criminal Court (1852) to defend one Nancy Farrer, who was being tried for poisoning two families. He put forth the plea of insanity, and made a very telling speech. Notwithstanding, however, a very powerful appeal, the verdict was against him. Convinced of the insanity of the prisoner, he applied for a writ of error, and having obtained it, appeared again on the prisoner's behalf in the Supreme Court of Ohio, December, 1853, more than a year after the conviction. He was again unsuccessful. But subsequently a commission found Nancy Farrer of unsound mind, and the sentence of the law was never carried into effect. This case gave him great fame in his profession, and he steadily got into large practice.

While in Cincinnati he married (December 30, 1852) Lucy Ware Webb, daughter of Dr. James Webb, by whom he has had eight children, of whom five are now living. In full practice Hayes yet found time to devote himself to politics, and in the many meetings which he attended he was always listened to with great interest, and his opinions carried great weight. In 1859 he was elected, by a majority of one, City Solicitor of Cincinnati, and held the appointment till 1861. On the outbreak of the War of Secession, Hayes, immediately President Lincoln's call for troops came, volunteered for service, although in the height of a successful practice. He framed the resolutions of the largest of the public meetings, and unhesitatingly threw all his influence into the scale on the side of the North. His own notes are to the following effect:—"I have agreed" he wrote, "to go into service for the war This is a just and necessary war, and it demands the whole power of the country. I would prefer to go into it if I knew I was to be killed in the course of it, rather than live through and after it without taking any part in it." At this time he was thirty-nine years of age. But he had made up his mind to fight for what to him was the right, and at once set about mastering the art of war. He declined a colonel's commission which was sent him by President Lincoln, and contented himself with the captaincy of a company composed almost entirely of members of the Literary Club who had elected him to the post. Entering on this new career with the indomitable resolution which has characterised every action of his life, Hayes studied tactics theoretically, and practically went through all the drills necessary to make him acquainted with the various manœuvres of regular troops. His efficiency was rewarded by a majority in the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry in June, 1861; and two days after the receipt of his commission he was in camp with his regiment. He wrote then in the following strain:—"I am much

happier in this business than I could be fretting away in the old office near the court-house. *It is living.*"

On the 25th July, 1861, on receipt of the news of the defeat at Bull's Run, the regiment was ordered to West Virginia, and soon had an opportunity of exchanging fire with the enemy. Against his wish Hayes was appointed Judge-Advocate for six weeks. But at the expiration of that time he rejoined his regiment on promotion to its command as lieutenant-colonel. Some time was spent at Camp Ewing in arduous duties. But towards the end of November the regiment left the camp, and subsequently—16th September, 1862, as the official report gives it—took part, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes, in the battle of South Mountain, and was the first infantry engaged. In this sanguinary fight he was struck by a rifle bullet, which crashed through his left arm above the elbow, carrying away part of the bone. His men were forced back, and Hayes having fainted, was left on the ground between them and the enemy. On recovering from his faint he called out, "Hallo, 23rd men, are you going to leave your colonel here for the enemy?" and about half a dozen of them came from their cover to which they had retired and, after more than one attempt, carried him out of range. He had at this time been appointed colonel of the 79th Ohio Regiment, but his wound prevented his taking command. On the 30th November, however, he rejoined the 23rd, his old regiment, as full colonel. While in West Virginia he was ordered against a rebel force near Princetown. On the 1st May, seventy-five of his men were attacked by 300 cavalry and guerillas. They beat off the enemy, but lost a third of their number in killed and wounded. Of this occasion Hayes writes —"As I rode up they saluted me with a present arms. Several were bloody with wounds as they stood in their places; one boy limped to his post who had been hit three times. As I looked at the glow of pride on their faces my heart choked me; I couldn't speak, but a boy said, 'All right, colonel; we know what you mean!'" This is ample proof of the esteem in which he was held by his subordinates. He has always been the soldier's friend, and on more than one occasion has gone out of his way to be of service to those who have fought their country's battles. Once when a corps commander assailed his men with a storm of opprobrious epithets for taking straw from a stack for bedding, he put himself to the front, and firmly defended them. More angry words from the general provoke the indignant retort from Hayes, "I trust our generals will exhibit the same energy in dealing with their foes that they do in the treatment of their friends!" Three weeks after he was wounded, on the day he attained his fortieth year, Hayes walked over the battlefield accompanied by his wife. Like her husband, Mrs. Hayes was beloved by the men. The soldiers called her a noble woman, and her attention to the sick and wounded won their hearts. To do her honour they named their camp Camp Lucy Hayes, and not a man in all those thousands but would have unhesitatingly risked his life for her. In October, 1862, the army went into winter quarters near the Great Kanawha Falls, and Hayes chiefly interested himself in the sanitary arrangements of the camp, which, by his energy, were rendered most efficient. During this time he was summoned to take part in the pursuit and capture of John Morgan, after his famous raid through Ohio.

On the 29th April he joined the forces under General Crook in their raid on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad On the 9th May, 1864, the battle of Cloyd Mountain was fought, and Hayes commanded a brigade, and took a most conspicuous part in the fight. On the 18th June the retreat began, and continued till the 1st July, when Charlestown was reached. The severity of the journey may be gathered from the fact that "men frequently fell down asleep on the road."

On the 24th Hayes took part in an action which resulted in defeat, the first he had known. In this his horse was shot under him, and he was struck in the shoulder by a spent ball. After this his brigade skirmished up and down the Shenandoah Valley, and on the 23rd August he repulsed an attack, then dashed out, and as it is quaintly remarked, "picked up a small South Carolina regiment entire."

On the 19th September the battle of Opequan was fought, and Hayes had the extreme right of Crook's command. In making a flank attack he acted with conspicuous bravery, and exposed himself in his usual reckless manner. On the next day the battle of Fisher's Hill followed, and as he wrote there was "a wholesale capture of artillery by our forces without the loss of a man." Hayes himself led the charge, and galloped right down on the enemy's lines.

On the memorable 19th October at Cedar Creek, he commanded the Kanawha division. Seeing his right breaking, he rode down to rally them, but they were too much demoralised, and retreated, leaving him exposed to a heavy fire. While galloping forward his horse was shot, and he himself was flung to the ground and severely bruised. In the fall his left ankle, catching in the stirrup, was dislocated. Lying perfectly still for fear of drawing the enemy's fire, though in great pain, he watched his opportunity, and when a chance offered he ran the gauntlet and reached his own lines. Mounting his orderly's horse, he continued actively engaged during the whole day, and was rewarded by taking part in a signal victory gained out of a defeat. Towards the close of the day he was struck on the head by a spent ball, but the wound was slight. In consequence of the ability and bravery he had shown, Sheridan appointed him a brigadier-general on the spot, and the rank was confirmed. The order of the day says: "For gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. To take rank from the date of the last-named battle."

In writing home Hayes said:—"General Crook gave me a very agreeable present this afternoon—a pair of his old brigadier-general's straps The stars are dimmed with hard service, but will correspond pretty well with my rusty old blouse." In the spring of 1865 he was given the command of an expedition against Lynchburg, by way of the mountains of West Virginia; but owing to the close of the war he did not enter on the campaign, for which every preparation had been made. When hostilities terminated Hayes was breveted major-general for his gallant and distinguished services. During the war he was under fire on seven hundred days, had three horses shot under him, and was wounded four times, once very severely.

Before the close of the war he was elected (without any wish of his own) by a majority of 2,455 as representative for Ohio in Congress, and took his seat on the 4th December, 1865. He was made chairman of the Committee on Library in 1866 At the periodical dissolution he was re-nominated and re-elected, and again took his seat on the 11th March, 1867. Although a fine speaker, Hayes for the first three sessions did not make a single elaborate speech. He occupied himself specially in looking after the pensions and pay of soldiers, and personally received communications from all who desired to put forward their claims. He was three times elected Governor of Ohio. The first time on the 15th January, 1868 and again on the 10th January, 1870, and again on the 5th January, 1875. He was nominated as President on the 16th January, 1876, and declared duly elected after a four months' delay in scrutinising the votes.

This delay was rendered necessary by the many allegations which were made with reference to the voting. Party spirit ran very high, and expedients of a far from creditable nature were resorted to in order to throw discredit on the *bona fides* of the newly-elected President and his

partisans. The Commission appointed during the course of its inquiry elicited a great deal of evidence to the effect that there had been trickery on the side of the opposing candidate, but nothing was brought forward which cast any slur on the action of Hayes. In consequence of the report sent in by the Commission to Congress the election was recognised, and Hayes entered on his duties as President of the United States of America on the 2nd March, 1877.

Having obtained the highest position possible to a citizen of the United States, Hayes set himself to work to inaugurate some of those reforms which he had long seen were urgently required. The Civil Service occupied much of his attention, and the numerous abuses which had crept into that department of the State were greatly reduced in a very short space of time. As President, Hayes had in his hands a large amount of patronage, by which he might have served his own ends had he chosen to do so. But to his credit he utterly refused to place the weight of his influence in the scale when applications for lucrative appointments were made, and gave them invariably to those best fitted for the work, without regard for their claims on him, either by reason of relationship or party support. Having fairly started this reform, Hayes proceeded to the greater task of conciliating the South, and obliterating the *feelings of hate for their fellow-citizens of the North which had rankled in the breasts of the* Southerners ever since the Civil War. He withdrew the Federal troops from the erst rebel States, and thus appealed to them in their capacity of citizens. He restored to them all their rights, and succeeded beyond all calculations in speedily cementing the bond of union which had only a few years before been so roughly torn asunder. The good work was singularly aided by the outbreak of an epidemic of yellow fever in the South, by which misery and desolation were carried to innumerable households. A wail of agony arose and went throughout the length and breadth of the land. The terrible sufferings of the fever-stricken people were brought home to the North. In response to the agonised appeal of their fellow-citizens of the South the North nobly responded, and relief of every description for the survivors was poured in from all sides. This action of humanity completed the work Hayes had begun, and now the North and South are once more really united. Following out his invariable plan of looking after the interests of the soldiers who had suffered from the war, Hayes continued unceasingly in his efforts to ameliorate their condition, and himself personally partook in the necessary measures for effecting his object, which was achieved with great success.

Up to the beginning of this year (1879) Hayes managed to steer clear of any very embarrassing position, but in March last great pressure was brought to bear upon him by the Constitutional State Convention of California, and a branch of the Nevada legislation, to induce him to sign the Bill restricting Chinese immigration. The Republican party, to which Hayes belongs, had a heavy stake on the constitution, and in the interests of his party it was necessary to manœuvre with the greatest possible delicacy. The question of Chinese labour was causing an immense amount of excitement in the Western States, and the rowdy element of the population were agitating and denouncing the Chinese. At public meetings stump orators held out threats of lynch law, and declared that the hated yellow-skinned rabble should be driven into the sea. For years the animosity of the rowdies had shown itself every now and then, and the constitution had placed the Chinese in the peculiar position of positive aliens, denying them the rights of citizenship, and confining them into marked-off limits. It was alleged that the cheapness of the Chinese was gradually impoverishing the white population, and that ere long the latter would be reduced to starvation, that the Chinese never aided the Government, that they were not citizens, and that they introduced all kinds of vile practices which were undermining the morality of the

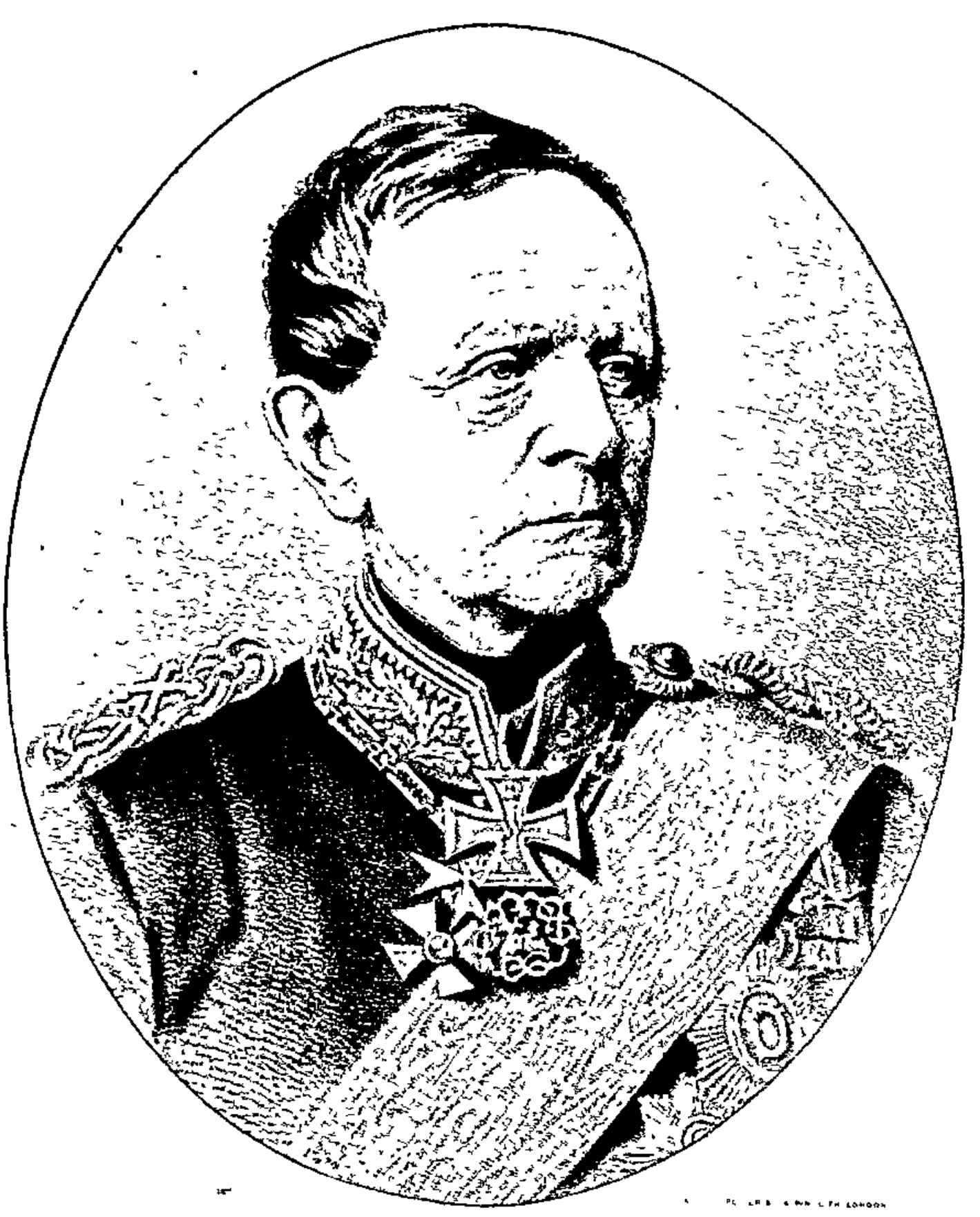
country. Very strong arguments in favour of the restricting Bill pointed, moreover, at the weak side of the Americans that they were capable of being ousted by the natives of a nation looked upon as their inferiors in every way. Working on popular pride, the agitators succeeded in winning over to their side a majority of members of Congress, and the Bill was passed. Fortunately the United States possessed in Hayes a President of integrity, legal training, and refined culture. He carefully reviewed all the circumstances connected with the case. He clearly saw that the whole thing was got up by disaffected rowdies, and that the honour of the nation was to a great extent at stake. According to existing treaties the United States of America were pledged to give to Chinese citizens freedom to come and go to their territory. Unless these provisions were abrogated by a convention of similar calibre they still held good, and any sudden stoppage of the privilege would be a breach of faith which it was undesirable for a great nation like the United States to be guilty of. Moreover, the Chinese labourers are by no means a bad speculation. Most of the large railway enterprises were carried out by them, and further extensions would require their aid. Under these circumstances Hayes, actuated by a sense of right, exercised the powers given to him in his capacity of President, and vetoed the Bill. The wisdom of his action has since been shown by subsequent events. The anti-Chinese feeling is subsiding. The improved times have improved the temper of the working classes, and increased public works now give employment for all. Chinese find plenty to do in all directions. There are six thousand at work on the Texas Pacific Railroad, and the scheme for the Canal across the Isthmus of Panama, when once began, will raise a demand for many more. The presence of Chinamen in America will conduce to an enlargement of the trade between the two countries, and this is desired by all Americans who wish for commercial progress. The firm stand of Hayes on this question must have a great effect in checking that pressure which the rowdy classes who abound in the United States have for so long been able to bring on the politics of the nation.

With reference to the Chinese labour question, General Grant, during his tour round the world, has made some interesting remarks. In reply to an address of the Chinese members of the community of Penang, he is said to have stated that the antagonism displayed towards the emigrants was not on account of the cheapness of their labour, or their not becoming citizens, but because they arrived in a state of bondage. This, of course, was repugnant to the feelings of a nation which had spent a vast amount of blood and treasure in the suppression of slavery, and in consequence the movers of the Bill which passed Congress were actuated by purely philanthropic motives. The system of service to companies for fixed periods in return for passage money and advances was at the root of the evil If Chinese emigrants arrived in America as free men no difficulties would be placed in their way. But so long as they only came as slaves, popular indignation would continue adverse to their being admitted at all. The opinion of the ex-President, presumably based on philanthropic principles, really takes the same side as that of Hayes, and goes far to prove the far-sightedness which proceeded to the extreme measure of a veto in the case. The interests of the nation demanded strong action, and it was unhesitatingly entered on to attain that end. During Hayes' Presidency Eastern connections have in every way been improved, and the commercial future has occupied much of his attention. The rapid advance of the Japanese towards civilisation has made them look upon the position they occupy in their dealings with foreigners as irksome to a degree They have strongly maintained their right to administer their own laws and regulate their own tariffs. At the present moment, England, France, Russia, and Germany are negotiating on the subject, but the United States,

of America have already recognised the Japanese right, and this concession has procured for Americans the opening of two new ports. The convention entered into is subject to the concurrence of the other Powers, but the action of the United States will no doubt influence the subsequent decision.

Since then nothing of any very great importance has occurred, and perhaps this may be considered as the best proof of the policy which has been pursued by the administration. Although no extraordinary events have taken place during the time Hayes has been President, every one must agree that he has acted throughout prudently and honestly. He has had the welfare of his country at heart, and his earnest efforts have been directed towards reforms in all those branches of the service where corruption was rapidly becoming the order of the day. It is a moot question whether Hayes will again be nominated as President when his term of office expires. Popular opinion is pointing to General Grant as his probable successor, and there is no doubt that the successful soldier, who has already served twice, will be pressed to accept yet another term of office If he follows in the path of the great Washington he will refuse, and there is nothing as yet to show that he desires re-nomination If he does not come forward the chances are greatly in favour of the re-election of Hayes. His party is convinced of his earnestness, and will rally round him. The nation as a whole must appreciate his work, and looking to the fact that his opponents, apart from General Grant, will be run from purely party motives, many will support him to maintain that order which is his aim. In re-nominating and electing Hayes the citizens of the United States will be doing their nation a service And they might go farther and fare much worse.

[The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by M. Alophe, Paris.]



FIELD MARSHAL COUNT MOLTKE.

on one occasion placed themselves at the head of a number of peasant boys, the battle-field being a stubble enclosed by a high fence. Helmuth's troops were put to flight, and some were taken prisoners; but quickly rallying his men, he led them to a pond in the pastor's garden, where there was an island accessible only by a drawbridge made of a single plank. The defeated general turned on the enemy, whom he kept at bay with a few of his strongest men, while the body of his troops made their way into the fortress. When the last one had entered, the drawbridge was raised, and victory remained with Helmuth. Thus, as Wordsworth has remarked, "the child is father of the man."

On leaving the Military School of Copenhagen, Von Moltke was appointed page at court for a year, and then became lieutenant of a regiment stationed at Rendsburg. As a result of the separation of Denmark from Norway, the army was greatly reduced, with very little prospect of promotion for the younger men who remained in it. Moltke consequently threw up his commission in the Danish service (losing whatever benefits attached thereto), and entered a Prussian regiment quartered at Frankfort. In 1820 he proceeded to the great Military Academy at Berlin, where he remained for six years. His parents having lost nearly the whole of their property through war and misfortune, Moltke was often in great pecuniary straits, yet he contrived to spare enough from his limited resources to obtain instruction in foreign languages. In the year 1832 he was appointed to the staff, in which service he continued for three years, which were spent in close study. He then obtained leave to travel, and proceeded to Constantinople, where he arrived in December, 1835. He aided the Sultan Mahmoud II. in reconstructing the Turkish army after the European models. He also made surveys for a general plan of Constantinople, and his work being completed in 1837, he visited several places on the Asiatic coast. In the capacity of military adviser, he accompanied the Sultan on a visit to Bulgaria and Roumelia, and two years later joined in the expedition against the Pasha of Egypt. The Turkish army was disastrously defeated at Nisib, and Moltke, whose advice had not been followed, managed to escape to a port on the Black Sea, from whence he reached Constantinople. Having explained to the Sultan the causes of the failure of the campaign, he quitted Turkey in October, 1839, and returned to his old duties at Berlin. In 1845 Moltke published an account of the Turkish campaign. This work succeeded one entitled *Letters from Turkey*, which is said to have been the most popular of his writings. Karl Ritter, the eminent geographer, wrote an Introduction for it; and a German critic, describing its style, observed: "His language is so vivid in its colouring, and its style so elevated, that we are tempted to say, if Moltke had not become Moltke he would certainly have been a poet." In 1846 Moltke was appointed adjutant-in-attendance on Prince Henry of Prussia, the king's uncle. The prince lived in Rome, and was a constant invalid. Always busily engaged in study of some kind, Moltke occupied his leisure in Rome in making plans and maps of the city and neighbourhood, upon which he was highly complimented. Prince Henry dying in 1847, Moltke became, in the year following, a member of the grand general staff, having been engaged in connection with the command on the Rhine. In 1849 he was appointed chief of the staff of the 4th Army Corps in Magdeburg. He was thence transferred to the 8th division of the army, stationed at Coblentz. In the summer of 1856 he accompanied the Crown Prince on his Russian tour. During this visit he wrote a series of letters to his wife, which were afterwards published. They have lately been translated into English by Miss Napier. To this translation Miss Napier prefixed an admirable biographical sketch of Von Moltke, to which we are indebted for our knowledge of certain facts in the dis-

tinguished strategist's career. In the year just named (1856) Moltke was also in attendance upon the Crown Prince on his visit to England, when he was betrothed to the Princess Royal at Balmoral. He has on several occasions since paid visits to this country.

In the year 1858 Moltke was advanced to the rank of Chief of the Grand General Staff of the Prussian army, and in 1859 became a lieutenant-general He now began, in conjunction with the war minister, Von Roon, the reorganisation of the Prussian army, and the results of his labours were apparent to the world, seven or eight years afterwards, in the crucial contest with Austria. Moltke also produced plans for the defence of the German coasts and the creation of a German navy. At this point it may be convenient to notice the present efficiency and strength of the German army, bearing in mind that these results have been attained chiefly through the exertions of Von Moltke The largest army in Europe, upon a peace footing, is that of Russia, which numbers 768,427; France coming next, with 430,703; and then Germany, with 419,000. But in time of war Germany has the strongest resources of any European nation, being able to place upon a war footing a body of no fewer than 1,278,316 men. She is closely followed by Russia, with a total war footing of 1,213,239; and France, with 1,000,000 men; Austria, the next in order, being 300,000 men below the last-named Power. In Germany, by the Constitution of 1871, the Prussian system was extended to the whole Empire, and every able-bodied man must serve in the army. From his twentieth year he must pass seven years in the active army—three in active service, and the remainder in the reserve. He then forms part of the landwehr for five years. By a law passed in 1875, every man capable of bearing arms, who is not either in the line, the reserve, or the landwehr, must form a part of the landsturm until he is forty-two years of age. By calling out all, except her last reserves, Germany could put close upon two millions and a half of men in the field. The cost of the army for the year 1877 was a trifle over eighteen millions sterling, so that her military supremacy has not been cheaply purchased.

During the Austro-Italian war Moltke was present in the Austrian head-quarters. He studied carefully the Austrian plan of campaign and the tactics of the opposing army; and after the conclusion of peace he devoted himself systematically to the task of developing the capacities of the Prussian general staff and the Prussian army. In 1864 the Prussian war with Denmark broke out. Schleswig and Holstein were invaded by Prussia and Austria in conjunction, were wrested from Denmark, and transferred to the allies jointly. Moltke sketched the plan of the campaign and assisted in its execution, serving with distinction. In 1865 the Duchy of Lauenberg, situate east of Holstein and north of the Elbe, was ceded by Denmark to Prussia. It was not till 1866, however, that the general's first great opportunity came. During this second war he again assumed the chief responsibility, acting as he did in the war with Denmark. As will be remembered, Prussia and Austria—at the close of fruitless diplomatic negotiations—went to war in the year 1866. The former Power claimed for herself Schleswig and Holstein; this, with other causes of dissension and jealousy, led to the seven weeks' war between Prussia and Austria, in which Prussia was joined by Italy Austria was signally defeated in the battle of Sadowa (or Königgrätz). The whole plan of this Bohemian campaign was due to Moltke, who was present in the battle of Königgrätz, which he led. In like manner he arranged the bold advance of the Prussian columns against Olmutz and Vienna, and negotiated the armistice and the preliminaries of peace. This campaign has been generally regarded as one of the most brilliant, rapid, and decisive which have been fought in modern times.

Moltke himself described it as "a campaign which, for Prussia, for Germany, and for the whole world, has an importance which it is impossible to measure." Stated briefly, the chief results of the war were that Austria was excluded from the Germanic Confederation, and that Venetia was transferred to Italy. A North German Confederation, which included all the States north of the Main and Bohemia, was formed, with Prussia at its head; the States south of that line formed the South German Confederation. For his services during this war Von Moltke received the order of the Black Eagle and a national dotation.

Early in 1870 it became apparent to observers of European politics that a war between France and Germany was, sooner or later, inevitable. For some time before this, however, Von Moltke and other leading Prussian generals and statesmen had been preparing for war. Moltke, indeed, long before the war actually broke out, had been engaged in drawing up plans for a movable campaign. At last the moment arrived when the great soldier was called from his retirement in Silesia (where he had, a year and a half before, buried his wife), and beckoned by the hand of duty to a still greater task than any he had yet undertaken. On the 15th of July, 1870, the Emperor Napoleon, with a rashness which has since been almost universally admitted, but for which he was perhaps not altogether responsible, declared war against Prussia. The ostensible ground of complaint by France was that she was dissatisfied with the conduct of Prussia in connection with the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern for the vacant Spanish crown. Before the fiat of Napoleon had gone forth, Moltke and Bismarck had hastened to Berlin, being led thither by ominous portents of the coming storm. A terrible conflict speedily ensued, and one which for bloodshed has not been rivalled in Europe since the days of the first Napoleon. Victory after victory fell to the lot of the Prussian armies, and at length, on the 1st of September, the great and crushing catastrophe for France arrived: the Emperor Napoleon surrendered at Sedan. The King of Prussia, speaking at the banquet which followed the battle, and drinking to his brave army, said "You, Von Roon, have sharpened my sword; you, General von Moltke, have wielded it; and you, Count Von Bismarck, have guided the policy of Prussia for years towards the height which it has this day attained!"

The following passage, referring to a memorable incident in the Franco-German campaign, and published by one of the victorious general's biographers, will be perused with interest: "The close relations which existed between the king and his faithful servants—Moltke, the great soldier, and Bismarck, the great statesman—are exemplified by a circumstance which is said to have occurred at the end of the terrible conflict at Gravelotte, and is very characteristic. The Pomeranians having come up just at the right time, as arranged by Moltke, the French were defeated and driven into Metz. It was late in the evening when the victory was decided, and as it was impossible for them to return to the head-quarters at Port-à-Mousson, the King and his immediate followers were obliged to seek shelter in Rezonville or spend the night in the open air. All the houses were filled with the wounded; only one small room was found for the King, and here a camp-bed was brought for His Majesty. 'And where is Moltke, where is Bismarck to be quartered?' asked the King. 'Nowhere at present,' said the adjutant. 'Fetch them here,' said the King, sending away the camp-bed for the use of the wounded, and ordering some straw to be brought, of which a bed was made, on which the King, Moltke, and Bismarck slept, all three together."

Upon the Emperor Napoleon's surrender at Sedan, the French Empire was abolished, and a Republic proclaimed at Paris. The Prussians marched upon the city, and invested it on the 19th of September. Fighting also went on in other parts of France. The new Republican

He was loth to speak of himself, but after some conversation on other topics, he thus expressed himself to the correspondent who interviewed him: "I will tell you exactly what I feel: I have an antipathy for praise-mongering, such as some persons have for certain animals; it puts me out of tune for a whole day to hear anything of the kind. The Bohemian campaign is, indeed, a grand, undying page in the history of the world, an event the consequences of which no one—*no one*—can now foresee. I have done my duty and filled my position honourably, like all my comrades, and nothing more. God's almighty power has guided the victorious flight of the Prussian eagle. The bravery of our army, the caution of their leaders, as well as my plans, are only the instruments of His will; and when I hear the boundless laudations which the public heap upon me, the thought always recurs, How would it have been if success, this unparalleled success, had not crowned our efforts? Would not the unmerited praises of so many ignorant critics have become just so much unmerited blame?" In order that his visitor should not go away empty-handed, however, the General gave him a small packet on parting, containing notes, in the famous soldier's own handwriting, upon military matters and plans of great moment.

Touching Count von Moltke's appearances as an author, we have already remarked that his *Letters from Turkey* were published in 1835. The same year also witnessed the publication of the *Campaign in Turkey*; and in referring to this work, in the course of his conversation with the correspondent of *Daheim*, the Count remarked: "It appeared anonymously, like all my books, and it must have been what you call a literary fiasco, for I have never heard any but professional men speak of it." His book on *The Italian Campaign of* 1859 was published in 1863. It attracted much attention in Austria, on account of the laudatory manner in which the author, with his usual frank and chivalrous spirit, referred to General Benedek. The history of *The German and French War of* 1870-71 was published by the General Staff in Berlin in 1874, and much of this work came from the pen of Count Moltke. His *Letters from Russia* have been published both in Denmark and Germany. An English translation of his *Observations on the Influence that Arms of Precision have on Modern Tactics* was published in London in the year 1871.

In 1873 the Emperor of Germany, at the instigation of Count Moltke, ordered two millions of needle-guns, to supply the losses sustained by the different arsenals in the Franco-German war. It was by means of this weapon that the successful operations against Denmark, Austria, and France were carried on, and the German soldiers—which, of course, means the German population—had become used to its management. Recent events, however, have demonstrated that the needle-gun is not regarded with that unbounded faith in Germany which prevailed at the time when the above extensive order was given. Count Moltke exercises a sleepless vigilance in perfecting the arms and accoutrements of the German soldiery, and becomes immediately personally acquainted with all improvements in weapons and the construction of new arms made by other countries.

The Marshal also gives the closest attention to all that transpires in France. His staff kept a watchful eye upon the numerous defensive works constructed after the war of 1870 on the north-eastern frontier of France. Officers and agents of the German Government kept it accurately informed of the progress of affairs along the Vosges and the Jura. The fifth "Annuaire de la Section de Statistique et de Géographie du Grand État-Major," published in 1875, at Berlin, was accompanied by a map of the whole of the fortresses and railways of France. The "Annual" pointed out to the German officers the exact position of

the new forts, and how far the works had progressed. All the boundaries of France were examined, from Belgium, round by Luxembourg, Germany, Switzerland, the Mediterranean, Spain, and the Atlantic Ocean, to the English Channel. The construction of all new works of defence has since also been closely followed, and the minutest operations of France are known to her enemy across the Rhine. A few years ago it was said that Paris would form an immense central refuge, which could not be invested for the future; but the publication of certain studies made on this point by Prussian officers, under the direction of Count Moltke, has raised serious doubts in the minds of French military men. The Germans affirm that with 150,000 men they would be able to perform again the feat accomplished in 1870, and that 300,000 men would be required by France to occupy the vast space comprised within the defences of Paris.

In May, 1878, a report was circulated in the Continental newspapers to the effect that a visit which Field-Marshal Moltke was about to pay to Denmark and Sweden had for its object the carrying out of a political mission. This report, however, was subsequently contradicted upon authority. It is difficult, of course, for an individual occupying the distinguished position of Field-Marshal Moltke to conceal his movements; and even when he does not leave Berlin, the quidnuncs have no difficulty in penetrating schemes which Germany is constantly reported to be maturing. Hanover has recently become a part of the great German Confederation, and there are European politicians who regard with anxious minds the future of Holland. This State has been marked out by some as the next subject of absorption by Germany, though the event is placed as yet in the dim distance. Touching upon this question, however, the *Edinburgh Review*—in an article upon "A Prussian Campaign in Holland," published in October, 1875—remarked: "It is not for a moment to be supposed that the Dutch, if threatened by the powerful neighbour who holds the frontier until now covered largely by Hanover, can do much more than protect themselves against a *coup de main*. They would, doubtless, imitate the gallant resistance of the Danes to the invasion of Slesvik, and we trust less ineffectually. But it cannot be too loudly proclaimed that the independence of the Netherlands is a cardinal point in the political system of Europe, and one which we regard of absolutely vital importance to ourselves. The two most formidable crises in modern history occurred whilst the Low Countries were under the dominion of Spain in the sixteenth century, and again when they passed under the dominion of France in the eighteenth. Their native love of freedom, not unaided by England, enabled them twice to throw off the yoke; and the men of Holland would be equally impatient of the dominion of a Teutonic Empire, which is at this moment the object of their apprehensions. We trust those apprehensions may prove altogether unfounded. But we believe that the first sign of an aggression on Holland would kindle the entire sympathy of Europe; and it is one of the first of British interests that the coasts and harbours within a few hours' sail of our shores should ever remain in the hands of a friendly people, and as inviolate as our own territory." Germany with the sea-board of Holland would prove an absolutely overwhelming Power, and a constant source of menace and danger to the whole of the European Continent: but if we are to believe one of her most friendly critics, she has sufficient upon her hands for many years to come with her own internal concerns and the consolidation of the Empire. An able German critic, the Baron von Holtzendorff, has observed that "at present there may not yet exist any strong tendency toward drawing a line of practical separation between the royal and imperial prerogatives vested in the same Prussian Crown,



GENERAL GARIBALDI

the less so because the Emperor and the Imperial Crown-Prince have, by the extraordinary prominence of their personal qualities, as well as by military success, acquired such an amount of popularity, even among the South German people, as no German prince could have boasted of since the romantic days of Barbarossa. Nevertheless, it is necessary remark that future generations are by no means assured that the political feeling of t German nation toward their Emperor must at all times continue to coincide with the attac ment of the Prussian people to their king. The Prussian king may allow himself and h ministers to carry out unpopular measures and bad laws to a considerable extent, without thereby incurring any practical change of responsibility. The German Emperor, however, could not stand unpopularity for a long period without shaking the foundation-stone of his authority." Years must elapse before the Empire founded so successfully by Bismarck and Moltke can be placed on a basis sufficiently stable to withstand the assaults of ages.

Field-Marshal Count Moltke's appearances in the German Parliament are very unfrequent. He is a soldier, not an orator. He spoke, however, on the Anti-Socialist Bill during its discussion in May, 1878. As an eye-witness of the horrors of the Paris Commune, the Count described the dangers of the Socialist agitation, and hoped the House would pass the Bill. It was necessary, he said, that the Government should be able to repress social democratic agitation, and not to wait until the reins of authority had slipped from out the hands of the Government into those of the masses. Then it would be much more difficult to render efficacious support; though the German Government would, notwithstanding, be sure to overwhelm by force any violent excess. Yet such a victory, unfortunately, would only be followed by other dangers.

In 1845 Count Moltke married Miss Mary Burt, the only daughter of an Englishman residing in Holstein. Mr. Burt, who was a widower, had already married the general's sister. The Count's wife died on Christmas Eve, 1868, leaving her husband, after twenty-three years of uninterrupted domestic happiness, without offspring.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from an original Photograph by Messrs. Rockard & Lindner, Court Photographers Berlin.*]

the less so because the Emperor and the Imperial Crown-Prince have, by the extraordinary prominence of their personal qualities, as well as by military success, acquired such an amount of popularity, even among the South German people, as no German prince could have boasted of since the romantic days of Barbarossa. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remark that future generations are by no means assured that the political feeling of the German nation toward their Emperor must at all times continue to coincide with the attachment of the Prussian people to their king. The Prussian king may allow himself and his ministers to carry out unpopular measures and bad laws to a considerable extent, without thereby incurring any practical change of responsibility. The German Emperor, however, could not stand unpopularity for a long period without shaking the foundation-stone of his authority." Years must elapse before the Empire founded so successfully by Bismarck and Moltke can be placed on a basis sufficiently stable to withstand the assaults of ages.

Field-Marshal Count Moltke's appearances in the German Parliament are very unfrequent. He is a soldier, not an orator. He spoke, however, on the Anti-Socialist Bill during its discussion in May, 1878. As an eye-witness of the horrors of the Paris Commune, the Count described the dangers of the Socialist agitation, and hoped the House would pass the Bill. It was necessary, he said, that the Government should be able to repress social democratic agitation, and not to wait until the reins of authority had slipped from out the hands of the Government into those of the masses. Then it would be much more difficult to render efficacious support; though the German Government would, notwithstanding, be sure to overwhelm by force any violent excess. Yet such a victory, unfortunately, would only be followed by other dangers.

In 1845 Count Moltke married Miss Mary Burt, the only daughter of an Englishman residing in Holstein. Mr. Burt, who was a widower, had already married the general's sister. The Count's wife died on Christmas Eve, 1868, leaving her husband, after twenty-three years of uninterrupted domestic happiness, without offspring.

[The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from an original Photograph by Messrs. Rockard & Lindner, Court Photographers Berlin.]

GENERAL GARIBALDI.

GIUSEPPE (JOSEPH) GARIBALDI, the Liberator of Italy, is one of those few characters who, by their unselfish and noble-hearted patriotism, have been elevated into the ranks of the world's benefactors. The example of such men has kept alive the devotion and enthusiasm of the patriots of many a down-trodden nation, until they have at length thrown off the yoke of tyranny. Rarely is such a career as Garibaldi's witnessed in the history of peoples —a career which began in the humblest condition of life, and culminated in the affectionate regard of an entire people, and the admiration of the whole civilised world. The errors of the illustrious Italian patriot—and he has by no means been without them—detract little from the lustre of his fame. The purity and disinterestedness of his motives have never been questioned. While he could have risen—as unscrupulous popular leaders have so frequently done—on the shoulders of the people to the most ambitious heights, he was content, when his work was accomplished, to retire to his island home of Caprera, there, like another Cincinnatus, to devote himself to the pursuits of agriculture. There have been careers as brave and daring as that of Garibaldi; but that which has given him the immortal gratitude of the Italian nation is the spotless purity of his life and the almost unparalleled singleness of his aims.

Garibaldi was born at Nice, on the 22nd of July, 1807, in the same house and chamber in which Massena was born. His father, Dominique Garibaldi, was a sailor, who experienced many vicissitudes. Like many other great men, this future child of adventure and soldier of liberty appears, however, to have been most deeply impressed by his mother. Of this noble woman her distinguished son himself writes:—"Is it not to her pity for the unfortunate, to her compassion for the suffering, that I owe that great love—I will say more, that profound charity—for my country which has procured me the affection and sympathy of my unfortunate fellow-citizens? I am not superstitious, and yet I will affirm this, that in the most *terrible* instances of my life, when the ocean roared under the keel and against the sides of my vessel, which it tossed like a cork, when bullets whistled in my ears like the wind of the tempest, when balls showered around me like hail, I constantly saw her on her knees, buried in prayer, bent at the feet of the Most High, and for me. That which gave me that courage at which people have sometimes been astonished was the conviction I felt that no harm could happen to me while so holy a woman, while such an angel, was praying for me." From his earliest youth Garibaldi manifested a brave and fearless spirit, and a changeless feeling of pity and sympathy for the weak, the unfortunate, and the suffering. At the age of eight he plunged into the Var, and rescued a drowning woman. A few years later, when some of his companions, sailing in a boat between Nice and Villafranca, were in imminent peril owing to the rising of a storm, he swam out to save them. Many other instances of his daring and humanity are recorded.

Having received a good education, he was pressed to adopt a professional career, but the

on Staten Island; but the old instincts prevailed, and he shortly took to the sea, making several voyages to China and Australia A few years later he was in England, visiting the Tyne Chiefly through the exertions of Mr Cowen, the inhabitants of Newcastle presented him with a sword and a telescope. In reply to this manifestation of sympathy, Garibaldi wrote:—"If ever England, your native country, should be so circumstanced as to require the help of an ally, cursed be that Italian who would not step forward with me in her defence! Your Government has given the autocrat a check and the Austrians a lesson, the despots of Europe are against you in consequence (this was in 1851). Should England at any time, in a just cause, need my arm, I am ready to unsheath in her defence the noble and splendid sword received at your hands."

Public order having been established in Sardinia, Garibaldi purchased the island of Caprera, where he settled down to farming pursuits. He also became a trader to Nice, and obtained the recognition of his rank in the Sardinian navy. Meanwhile, political events in Italy moved forward rapidly, and in April, 1859, Cavour sent for Garibaldi. The Sardinian generals scarcely knew what to make of a man who set at nought their arbitrary military rule; but King Victor Emmanuel, rightly understanding his character, said, "Go where you like; do what you like! I have only one regret—that I am not able to follow you." Then began Garibaldi's almost unexampled guerilla warfare. With his Alpine Chasseurs, numbering some 17,000 men, he fought a great number of engagements, captured Bergamo and Como, and at length drove the Austrians out of the lake country and from the foot of the Alps The final results of the campaign are well known. The allied armies defeated the Austrians from the Po to the Ticino. Magenta and Solferino compelled the surrender of Lombardy. The Emperor Napoleon hesitating to carry the war further, the Austrian Emperor accepted the armistice offered to him. When the preliminaries of peace had been decided upon, Garibaldi tendered his resignation to Victor Emmanuel; but this not being accepted, the general decided upon carrying on the war in his own manner. After some months, dispirited in his efforts for Italian independence, Garibaldi oncemore tendered his resignation, and it was accepted, much to the indignation of the people.

But it was impossible for this ardent friend of freedom to remain quiescent, and proclamations from his hand followed each other in quick succession. He called for a national subscription and for a million muskets. So great was the magic of his name that a vessel reached Gibraltar having on board 23,500 guns, sent to Garibaldi by the American patriots. Early in the year 1860 he was once more upon the march, and on the 5th of May sailed from Genoa with a body of 2,000 men, whom he had induced to volunteer for the purpose of a descent upon Sicily. Reaching Talamara, he issued a proclamation as follows:—"'Italy and Victor Emanuel!' that was our battle-cry when we crossed the Ticino; it will resound into the very depths of Ætna As the prophetic battle-cry re-echoes from the hills of Italy to the Tarpeian mount the tottering throne of tyranny will fall to pieces, and the whole country will rise like one man!" The Piedmontese Government disapproved of the expedition, and attempted to prevent its departure. In less than six months, however, it was successful, and the king, in an address to the people of Southern Italy, said, "The people were fighting for liberty in Sicily when a brave warrior, devoted to Italy and to me—General Garibaldi—sprang to their assistance They were Italians; I would not, ought not, to restrain them." Garibaldi, who had assumed, in the name of Victor Emmanuel, the title of Dictator of Sicily, attacked Palermo with such energy and spirit that the Neapolitan troops, driven into the citadel, sued for an armistice Melazzo surrendered to him on the 21st of June. After this victory the King of Sardinia urged Garibaldi to desist from further

combined instincts of the sailor and the soldier were too strong within him to allow of a sedentary life. He served for some time in the Sardinian navy, and has given an interesting account of his early voyages In 1832 Mazzini deemed matters ripe for a rising against Charles Albert; but the insurrection was frustrated, and Garibaldi, who had joined in it, escaped with great difficulty. Two years later he was implicated in a second attempt, and was condemned to death Despairing of the future of his country, he escaped to France. Sailing from Marseilles, he subsequently offered his services to the Bey of Tunis; but changing his purposes, he went to South America Here he spent seven or eight years in fighting for the Rio Grande Republic. Subsequently he engaged in the service of the Republic of Monte Video, and fought against Rosas, the usurper of Buenos Ayres Accompanied by his devoted and beloved wife Anita, Garibaldi passed through a series of surprising adventures. For four years he was in command of the little Monte Videan army, and fought the battle of Salto Sant' Antonio. His army numbered only 2,000 men. During the four years named he was never in bed, living and sleeping in his saddle or in the field Returning to Italy, he took a prominent part in the great revolutionary movements of 1848 Offering his sword unsuccessfully to Pius IX., and being repulsed by Charles Albert, Garibaldi tendered his services to the Provisional Government of Rome. There was speedily fighting enough to satisfy any adventurous soldier, and many are the anecdotes told of Garibaldi's enterprise and gallantry. It was never his custom to count either the enemy or his own men: the enemy being in face of him, the enemy must be attacked; and in almost all instances his brave tactics succeeded Falling in with Mazzini at Milan, the two patriots proceeded to Rome upon the flight of the Pope. The Republic was established, and for some time all went well under the guiding spirit of Mazzini, with Garibaldi as commander of the forces. The siege of Rome belongs to history. In addition to the French as assailants, the Italian patriots had to reckon with the King of Naples, who reduced his subjects to submission with shot and shell. Garibaldi encountered a Neapolitan army, nearly 15,000 strong, at Palestrina, drove them to Velletri, and finally chased them to the banks of the Volturno, and was preparing for a march on Naples when he was recalled to Rome. Negotiations were proceeding for the surrender of the city, and Mazzini, deeming it wiser in the interests of Rome, as the future capital of Italy, not to risk its destruction, gave up the city.

Garibaldi left Rome as the French entered it He was uncertain whither to direct his steps. The story of his wanderings, accompanied by his faithful soldiers, reads more like the narratives we are accustomed to in the pages of romance. At length, unable longer to contend against the overwhelming forces of Austria, 900 of his men gave themselves up. Contrary to the conditions of surrender, they were immediately made prisoners and sent to Mantua, and many of them were flogged. Accompanied by some 300 of his band, Garibaldi broke through his guards. They reached the shore, embarked in fishing-boats, and were making towards Venice when they were pursued by the Austrian steamers. Two of the boats (Garibaldi being in one of them) gained the shore near Rimini. Now occurred one of the most pathetic passages in this brave soldier's history. His wife, Anita, was so ill and worn that she could not walk. Garibaldi, anxious for her safety, separated himself from his companions, and bore his faithful Anita in his arms On the third day he knocked at the door of a peasant, and asked for water for her, he was in the very act of putting the reviving fluid to her lips when she expired He afterwards reached Venice, from thence went to Genoa, next to Tunis and Gibraltar Expelled from Gibraltar by the Governor, he took ship for Liverpool, and from that port sailed to the United States. In 1850 we find him tallow-candle making in a manufactory

on Staten Island, but the old instincts prevailed, and he shortly took to the sea, making several voyages to China and Australia A few years later he was in England, visiting the Tyne. Chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Cowen, the inhabitants of Newcastle presented him with a sword and a telescope. In reply to this manifestation of sympathy, Garibaldi wrote — "If ever England, your native country, should be so circumstanced as to require the help of an ally, cursed be that Italian who would not step forward with me in her defence! Your Government has given the autocrat a check and the Austrians a lesson; the despots of Europe are against you in consequence (this was in 1854). Should England at any time, in a just cause, need my arm, I am ready to unsheath in her defence the noble and splendid sword received at your hands."

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operations against Naples until an opportunity could be afforded to Sicily of declaring her attachment to a united Italy. The victorious general replied, "Sir, your Majesty knows the high esteem and the devotion which I feel towards your Majesty; but such is the state of things in Italy that at the present moment I cannot obey your Majesty's instructions, much as I should like it I am called for and urged on by the people of Naples. I have tried in vain, with what influence I had, to restrain them, feeling as I do that a more favourable moment would be desirable But if I should now hesitate I should endanger the cause of Italy, and not fulfil my duty as an Italian; may your Majesty, therefore, permit me this time not to obey? As soon as I shall have done with the task imposed on me by the wishes of the people which groans under the tyranny of the Neapolitan Bourbon I shall lay down my sword at your Majesty's feet, and shall obey your Majesty for the rest of my lifetime." On the following day Garibaldi concluded a truce with the Neapolitans, who agreed to evacuate Sicily.

In August the Dictator had another success. Landing at Spartivento, he drove back the Neapolitan troops so far as to be able to command the navigation of the Straits, after which he set out for Reggio. On the 31st of the same month he formally accepted the title of Dictator of the Two Sicilies. The King of Naples immediately issued a manifesto against him to the Courts of Europe, describing him as "a daring *condottiero*," but admitting that the fortune of war had been with him. Sicily and various provinces had risen, and had formed provisional governments, confiding to the Dictator the authority over and the full arbitrament of their destinies. After issuing his proclamation, King Francis proceeded to Gaeta, where he resolved resolutely to oppose the further progress of Garibaldi. The royal troops, nevertheless, were defeated at Reggio and San Giovanni. The spirit of the Dictator may be gathered from an anecdote related of him during this campaign. A Sicilian leader having informed the general that ammunition was becoming very scarce, asked, "What shall we do?" "Go home, if you like," was the reply. "If you join me, you must learn to live without bread, and to fight without cartridges!" Garibaldi entered Naples on the 8th of September, and on the following day Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy. On the 10th, 25,000 Sardinian troops entered the Papal States, being followed by a similar number on the 11th. Garibaldi took possession of the Jesuit College at Palermo, and, having expelled its occupants, turned it into a school for all the ragged outcasts that were to be found in the streets. He also expelled the Jesuits from Naples, and declared the states of the Crown national property. The campaign in the Marches concluded with the capture of Ancona by the Garibaldians, when General Lamoricière surrendered, with the entire garrison, as prisoners of war. On the 1st of October the Garibaldians gained another victory over the troops of the King of Naples on the Volturno. A few weeks later Garibaldi published a proclamation to the effect that Naples ought to be incorporated with the Italian kingdom, and on the 21st the Neapolitans voted in favour of their union with the Sardinian States The Sicilians passed a similar vote. Shortly afterwards Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi met between Teano and Speranzano. A spectator of this scene writes:—"Seeing the red shirts, the king took a glass; and having recognised Garibaldi, gave his horse a touch of the spur and galloped to meet him. When ten paces distant the officers of the king and those of Garibaldi shouted, 'Viva, Victor Emmanuel!' Garibaldi made another step in advance, raised his cap, and added, in a voice which trembled with emotion, 'King of Italy!' Victor Emmanuel raised his hand to his cap, and then stretched out his hand to Garibaldi, and with equal emotion replied, 'I thank you.'" Under such circumstances did the Italian patriot surrender his title of Dictator of the Two Sicilies. When the king entered

Naples with Garibaldi, the latter was the popular favourite An Englishman who was present on the occasion of the visit to the shrine of St. Januarius, thus describes the two men.—"As the *evviva* of the populace rang through the damp air, I thought Garibaldi seemed by far the more popular personage of the two, and I rejoiced that it was so 'What born king on earth is as great as he in his sublime simplicity of character and spotless purity of intention?' I asked myself that day, and found no answer The visit to the relics was soon over; then bold Victor Emmanuel strode down the middle aisle, his plain bluff features set in iron rigidity, never moving a muscle, and as Garibaldi walked close to him we had an excellent opportunity of comparison. Garibaldi, with his broad, thoughtful brow, deep-sunk clear eyes, in whose depths no shade of dishonest purpose ever lurked, and calm self-possessed demeanour; and the king, with his dragoon's stride and bold glance, with nothing beyond this particularly noticeable about him—these two men, the born king and the kingly subject, were indeed contrasts. Then, as Garibaldi walked down the aisle, the people literally rushed upon him, kissing him, and clasping the very hem of his red jacket like devotees; and then set up once more a wild shout as of long pent-up enthusiasm"

On the 9th of November in this year, 1860, Garibaldi left Naples to return to Caprera, and on the 27th his army was disbanded. Quiet ensued for a period, but in July, 1862, Garibaldi issued proclamations from Palermo to the Hungarians and the Italians, calling upon both to resist their oppressors. The former proclamation led to no result; but Garibaldi and a band of followers rose at Ficuzza, and crossed from Catania to the Calabrian coast They were encountered on the 29th at Aspromonte by the royal troops, under Major-General Pallavicino. During the conflict both Garibaldi and his son were wounded, and negotiations were thereupon entered into. The general, suffering great pain, was conveyed to Spezzia, where a ball was extracted from his ankle by Professor Partridge, the eminent surgeon of King's College, who had been dispatched to Italy by Garibaldi's friends. In his own defence in connection with this disastrous affair, Garibaldi issued a proclamation, denying that he intended to engage with the troops of Victor Emmanuel, and laying all the blame of the affair upon the Ratazzi Government. It was, of course, impossible for the king to punish one who had rendered such signal services to the cause of Italian unity, and a decree of amnesty was accordingly passed on the 5th of October Garibaldi was elected to the Italian Chamber of Deputies, but resigned his seat on the 7th of January, 1864, explaining to the electors of Naples his reasons for doing so. The cession of Nice had wounded him deeply; "but now that I see (he wrote) the shame of Sicily succeed to the sale of Nice—of Sicily, which I love to call the country of my adoption—I feel myself compelled to restore to you a trust which fetters my conscience, and renders me indirectly an accomplice of crimes which are not my own."

In April, 1864, Garibaldi paid a visit to England, and those who witnessed his reception in London witnessed a progress almost unparalleled in even royal annals. The number of persons gathered together in Whitehall, at Charing Cross, and in Pall Mall, to do honour to the Italian patriot, was probably in excess of any crowd which has upon any occasion assembled either in that or any other locality. The whole metropolis was *en fête;* and nearly four hours elapsed before the carriage of the Duke of Sutherland, in which Garibaldi was seated, could make its way from Nine Elms to Stafford House. The general remained ten days in London, and was the lion of many fêtes and demonstrations, chief amongst which was the monster demonstration at the Crystal Palace. He was presented with a sword by the

Italians in London, and with innumerable addresses from corporate bodies. The public enthusiasm was unexampled. Garibaldi left London for Italy somewhat unexpectedly on the 22nd, and his sudden departure gave rise to many rumours of a political and diplomatic character The Duke of Sutherland conveyed the general in his own yacht to Caprera.

On the 11th of June, 1866, Garibaldi appeared at Genoa, his object being to enter upon a campaign against the Austrians. On the 3rd of the following month he attacked his old enemies at Monte Suello, but was wounded in the thigh and compelled to retire. Some days later he crossed over into the French district. He was again checked by the Austrians upon the Soro on July 22nd, but on the next day successfully encountered them. The war shortly afterwards ended, and he returned to Caprera. In the year 1867, Garibaldi—determined to strike another blow for the unity of Italy—re-opened the Roman question, and prepared to invade the Papal States. He was arrested at Asinalunga, however, on the 24th of September, by order of the Italian Government. He was ultimately permitted to return to Caprera, but, notwithstanding that he was vigilantly watched, contrived to escape from thence on the 14th of October. He speedily appeared in Florence, where he incited the people to join the insurgent bands already gathering on the Roman frontier. On the 26th he defeated the Papal troops at Monte Rotondo; but at Mentana, on the 4th of November, the Garibaldians were defeated, and obliged to capitulate to the united Papal and French forces The same day Garibaldi was arrested at Figline, on his journey to Caprera, and carried to Spezzia. The general protested against this act, claiming the protection due to an Italian deputy and an American citizen; and the authorities, probably deeming him to be a difficult and a dangerous prisoner, owing to the sympathies of the people, released him in the course of a few days The arrest led to a serious insurrection in Milan. He again retired to Caprera, whence he wrote in July, 1868:—"Our people, without abandoning the labour which preserves the body, should think of freeing their mind. For what kind of liberty is to be expected from a nation which every day falls down at the feet of priests, the pedestal of every tyranny, and the soldiers of the most atrocious of Italy's tyrants? I shall believe that our people mean freedom when I see the shop of St. Peter turned into an asylum for the indigent, when I see the flask of St. Januarius broken on the tonsured pate of the ludicrous sorcerer. Come what will, I shall die unhappy if, on the day you fight for Italy's liberty—which I hope will be soon—I cannot follow you, at least in an ambulance." In August, 1868, Garibaldi again resigned his seat as a deputy in the Italian Parliament. In 1870 he journeyed to France, and offered his services to the Government of the National Defence. He was nominated to a command in the Vosges, but, owing to a variety of circumstances, the Garibaldian troops were unsuccessful in the field, and on the 7th of January, 1871, they were defeated near Montbard by Colonel Von Dannenburg. In February Garibaldi was returned to the National Assembly by Paris and several of the departments, but he resigned his position as a deputy at the preliminary sitting of the Assembly at Bordeaux. With his life-long abhorrence of the priests, he said that "he loved the Republic, but hated the priesthood" He was returned to the Italian Parliament in 1874, and on taking his seat in January, 1875, received a most flattering ovation. A short time previously a national gift had been voted to him by the Chamber of Deputies, and his straitened pecuniary circumstances being matter of notoriety, donations showered in upon him from various parts of the world—many of which, however, he declined. In 1876 he accepted a donation of one hundred thousand lire, the gift of the King of Italy and of the Italian people.

On many occasions during the past three years the public press has published letters from Garibaldi upon the state of Europe and the work which still lies before Italy. Two of these express in brief his views upon these important questions. With regard to *Italia Irredenta*, he wrote as follows from Caprera, under date July 29th, 1878:—"The manifestations for *Italia Irredenta* emanate from the national sentiment against Austria gravitating continually towards a conspicuous portion of our enslaved brethren, and we ought to be glad if it proves that at the proper time the awakening of our country to the wiping out of the outrages of many centuries will be unanimous. When every Italian from seventeen to fifty years of age shall be able to hit a mark at 500 paces the question will be settled, and we hope for such a sublime result from the Government, assisted by the entire nation. . . The present Government ought not to declare war against Austria, and with the breath of fictitious peace now blowing over Europe such a war-note would be disapproved. Inasmuch, however, as it is useless to hope for the accomplishment of Italian right from congresses and international arbitrations in an effectual way while despotic power prevails, it is well to inculcate on united Italians what a real fortune it will be for that generation of ours which shall be called to avenge the many injuries and disasters caused us by the two-headed eagle; and then, as Menotti says, an avalanche—of people, army, Government—will fulfil the sacred mission." Within a month of the date of this letter Garibaldi further wrote respecting the league of the three Emperors and "the situation:"—"The league of the three Emperors produces its natural fruits. The principal representative of despotism in the world, it has sought, by giving a taste of free thought, to put the peoples to sleep by means of its moral head, the great German Chancellor, who now, finding himself in perilous waters, throws away the mask and endeavours to caress his natural ally, the head impostor of the Vatican. To tell the peoples to mistrust the lying autocratic alliance is time wasted. . . . In the programme of the German Socialists which has recently appeared I see nothing that is horrible for the world On the contrary, I find two articles which form part of the convictions I have held all my life, and the fulfilment of which is indispensable for the amelioration of the material and moral condition of the peoples. These articles are an uniform tax and the nation armed. One understands the reason why the Emperors do not care about that multitude of men whose mission will be not only to defend the country at need, but to constitute it by labouring in the fields and in the workshops. They naturally prefer the masses who obey their will like a sword in its swing. On our part, eminent men are not wanting to organise, under the auspices of liberty and justice, an opposition to the overwhelming tide of despotism and falsehood. We ought to have an anti-diplomatic congress at Paris, presided over by Victor Hugo."

Italians in London, and with innumerable addresses from corporate bodies. The public enthusiasm was unexampled. Garibaldi left London for Italy somewhat unexpectedly on the 22nd, and his sudden departure gave rise to many rumours of a political and diplomatic character. The Duke of Sutherland conveyed the general in his own yacht to Caprera.

On the 11th of June, 1860, Garibaldi appeared at Genoa, his object being to enter upon a campaign against the Austrians. On the 3rd of the following month he attacked his old enemies at Monte Suello, but was wounded in the thigh and compelled to retire. Some days later he crossed over into the French district. He was again checked by the Austrians upon the Soro on July 22nd, but on the next day successfully encountered them. The war shortly afterwards ended, and he returned to Caprera. In the year 1867, Garibaldi—determined to strike another blow for the unity of Italy—re-opened the Roman question, and prepared to invade the Papal States. He was arrested at Asinalunga, however, on the 24th of September, by order of the Italian Government. He was ultimately permitted to return to Caprera, but, notwithstanding that he was vigilantly watched, contrived to escape from thence on the 14th of October. He speedily appeared in Florence, where he incited the people to join the insurgent bands already gathering on the Roman frontier. On the 26th he defeated the Papal troops at Monte Rotondo; but at Mentana, on the 4th of November, the Garibaldians were defeated, and obliged to capitulate to the united Papal and French forces. The same day Garibaldi was arrested at Figline, on his journey to Caprera, and carried to Spezzia. The general protested against this act, claiming the protection due to an Italian deputy and an American citizen; and the authorities, probably deeming him to be a difficult and a dangerous prisoner, owing to the sympathies of the people, released him in the course of a few days. The arrest led to a serious insurrection in Milan. He again retired to Caprera, whence he wrote in July, 1868:—"Our people, without abandoning the labour which preserves the body, should think of freeing their mind. For what kind of liberty is to be expected from a nation which every day falls down at the feet of priests, the pedestal of every tyranny, and the soldiers of the most atrocious of Italy's tyrants? I shall believe that our people mean freedom when I see the shop of St. Peter turned into an asylum for the indigent, when I see the flask of St. Januarius broken on the tonsured pate of the ludicrous sorcerer. Come what will, I shall die unhappy if, on the day you fight for Italy's liberty—which I hope will be soon—I cannot follow you, at least in an ambulance." In August, 1868, Garibaldi again resigned his seat as a deputy in the Italian Parliament. In 1870 he journeyed to France, and offered his services to the Government of the National Defence. He was nominated to a command in the Vosges, but, owing to a variety of circumstances, the Garibaldian troops were unsuccessful in the field, and on the 7th of January, 1871, they were defeated near Montbard by Colonel Von Dannenburg. In February Garibaldi was returned to the National Assembly by Paris and several of the departments, but he resigned his position as a deputy at the preliminary sitting of the Assembly at Bordeaux. With his life-long abhorrence of the priests, he said that "he loved the Republic, but hated the priesthood." He was returned to the Italian Parliament in 1874, and on taking his seat in January, 1875, received a most flattering ovation. A short time previously a national gift had been voted to him by the Chamber of Deputies, and his straitened pecuniary circumstances being matter of notoriety, donations showered in upon him from various parts of the world—many of which, however, he declined. In 1876 he accepted a donation of one hundred thousand lire, the gift of the King of Italy and of the Italian people.

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We cannot close this biography without referring to two or three of the numberless anecdotes which are related, showing the nobility of Garibaldi's nature, his sympathy with and love for the human race, and the reasons for that extraordinary hold which he obtained over all with whom he came in contact. Garibaldi's strong feeling against the Austrians—through whom he lost his wife Anita—is well known Yet when there was great distress in Austria, he said to certain visitors, "You might do me a great pleasure if you would. There is much distress at present in part of the Austrian dominions, I have sent them a hundred francs only: it is all I can afford. If you would but sell these things, and give the money to the poor people who want it so much, I should be very grateful to you." The gentlemen, who remembered the fearful death of Garibaldi's idolised wife, listened in astonishment, and at last said, "But they are Austrians!" "And is that the way in which you read Christ's



From a photograph by V. Hadar, Paris.

M VICTOR HUGO.

Gospel?" was the answer. "Did He not die for all, and has He not said that all mankind are brothers? If they have not a good government, the people ought rather to be pitied than blamed." His request was complied with, and the sufferers received two thousand francs from the sale. Visiting the hospital of the incurables at Naples, a touching scene occurred in one of the rooms Garibaldi was stroking the feverish forehead of a young Venetian who had but a few hours to live and asking him what he could do for him. "Don't forget my country," was the reply of the agonised youth Another time Garibaldi, holding in his arms and fondly caressing a dying boy—notwithstanding all his usual self-control—burst into tears, exclaiming, "Can even liberty be worth all this?" Dr Nélaton, the Emperor Napoleon's surgeon, who was sent on one occasion to give Garibaldi the benefit of his skill, was anything but an admirer of the renowned soldier. After his visit he said, "Garibaldi is not a soldier, he is a saint! I am sure he will work miracles; he has worked one already, for he has moved me deeply by his very smile, and that is a miracle." One who had been with all the Garibaldian commanders in action said: "The solemn calmness, the supreme bravery of Garibaldi I have seen in no other. The sentiment which prevails in him, and round which all other feelings concentrate, is love. He loves man individually and collectively—he loves humanity—he loves creation" At Naples, on one occasion, two men were quarrelling desperately A third interposed, exclaiming, "Don't you know this is Garibaldi's day?" The combatants immediately threw down their knives, and embraced, crying, "*Viva Garibaldi!*" The *Times'* correspondent at Turin wrote.—"The sway Garibaldi holds over his own people is grounded on boundless faith and love, he is accustomed to have his absolute will worshipped, not disputed: nay, his most passing thought guessed and forestalled. Though the most affable and condescending of men, the distance between him and his most intimate friends is immense and never overstepped. None ever dare to offer him advice, none even to address him when his brow is set and he broods over his venturous schemes. The very spell of the man is in his silence, and when he opens his lips the watchword must be 'to hear and to obey.'"

Such is the man to whom Italy owes so deep a debt of gratitude: a man who, notwithstanding errors of judgment, remains one of the most widely revered and beloved, as well as one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is copied from a Photograph by Messrs Maull & Co, London.*]

VICTOR HUGO.

THIS ardent friend of liberty, and prince amongst living men of letters, was born at Besançon, on the 20th of February, 1802. He received the names of Victor Marie Hugo His father, who was a gentleman of Lorraine, and whose ancestry had been noble for three hundred years, acquired a high reputation in the wars of the First Empire. From being a simple volunteer in the armies of Napoleon, he rose to the rank of general, and held important commands in Spain and Italy. A free-thinker in religion, he displayed much of that eccentricity which has since distinguished his illustrious son. He was commandant of the garrison at Besançon, and exhibited the most devoted loyalty to Napoleon. Victor Hugo's mother was a native of La Vendée—a name written with the indelible stain of blood in the history of France She was a friend of Madame Bonchamp and Madame de la Rochejaquelin, and was a staunch Catholic and Royalist. Her son's early years were passed under her care, and his mind became tinged with her own Royalist and romantic sentiments In his fifth year, however, he was conveyed to Avellino, in Calabria, where his father was governor, and thence he travelled through Florence, Rome, Naples, and back to Paris in 1809. His education begin at the Convent of the Feuillantines, under private direction from a proscribed general. At the age of nine he was removed to Spain, residing in a seminary of nobles for a year; but scholarship amongst Spanish students being in a moribund condition, Victor Hugo returned, for a time, to the Convent of the Feuillantines During the closing years of Napoleon's chequered career, General Hugo, probably foreseeing the evils that would beset France, determined to enter his son at the Polytechnic School It was not by the sword, however, but by the pen, that the triumphs of the latter were to be won

By the age of ten Victor Hugo began to lisp in numbers, and in 1810 he produced the tragedy of "Artamène," to celebrate the accession of Louis XVIII. The succeeding year—that is, at the age of fifteen—he contended for the annual prize of the Academy His "Essay on the Advantages of Study" was confessedly superior to the lucubrations of all other competitors, but his judges persistently refused to believe that it was the work of one so young. During several successive years he wrote prize odes in connection with the Floral Games of Toulouse. It is said, notwithstanding, that his first meritorious efforts in verse were due to the inspiration of Lamartine. In 1822 he published his first volume of "Odes et Ballades." Princesses of the blood now compared him with the gods of song, and Chateaubriand further distinguished him by the epithet of "the sublime child." He received a pension in his twenty-first year, and married Mademoiselle Foucher, a young lady whom he met at his mother's house during his school-days This lady, who was five years younger than her husband, was devotedly attached to the young poet.

Odes and ballads, romances, dramas, &c., now flowed from Victor Hugo's pen. Like Byron, he had become famous almost at a bound. But a radical change was approaching in his ideas. As one writer has remarked: "The errors of Charles X., his narrow-minded bigotry, his dreary

obstinacy, and complete want of common sense, brought Liberalism into fashion; and the impressionable mind of Victor Hugo was carried away by the strength of ideas which had seized upon all the intellect of France. Indeed, when the gorgeous phantoms of youth had been dispersed beneath the daylight of experience, when the fond recollection of his mother's dreams was fading from his mind, a man of Victor Hugo's clear intelligence could have seen little to revere in Charles or his predecessor." So, while the king offered to double his pension, Victor Hugo felt that his old Royalist faith was drifting from its moorings. He gradually fell into deeper and closer sympathy with the Opposition. Meanwhile—shortly before the political revolution of 1830—a literary revolution occurred, in which the subject of this biography took a prominent part. A band of young writers conceived the idea of regenerating French literature. They were all warm, imaginative, and daring, their spirits charged with the electricity of youth. They began by departing from the old classical models, and adopted in their poetry instead a varied and very irregular form of verse. The Alexandrines of the old school were deposed, and the new verse—which certainly could not be said to be open to the charge of monotony—speedily became popular. Victor Hugo was the leader of this new band, who made Art precisely conform to Nature, and, as it has been noted, "even brought into prominence things disagreeable, which Nature herself is displeased with, and teaches us to keep out of sight." "La Jeune France" this new school called themselves, though they were better known by the generic name of Romanticists, as opposed to their rivals and predecessors, the Classicists. A newspaper—*La Muse Française*—was started to support the opinions of the new school, and it was conducted by Victor Hugo. Much acerbity was manifested on both sides during this great literary controversy, which waged for several years. To the magazine of the poets succeeded a club—the "Cenacle"—which has been graphically described by Sainte-Beuve, who was himself a member. In 1827 appeared the first-fruits of this new poetic growth, in the shape of Victor Hugo's drama of "Cromwell." In the preface to this work—which was not intended to be performed—the author unfolded his views upon the dramatic art. In effect these views were that the stage is a reflex of society chiefly—a mirror, in which the public should see its image faithfully depicted. The drama was not bounded by tragedy alone, but comedy must render its share in the delineation of character. Racine and Corneille, the severe masters of the dramatic art, were to be improved upon. The pathetic and the humorous should move side by side, and, hand in hand, unite in giving a true representation of universal humanity. "Cromwell" was succeeded, in 1828, by "Les Orientales," a series of odes, containing much picturesque but not very profound writing, and in the next year appeared that striking narrative, "Les Derniers Jours d'un Condamné." Victor Hugo's first drama written for representation was "Marion Delorme." No work of its author has probably created greater differences of opinion than this. The Censorship forbade its production upon the stage, and in its fundamental or central idea it has by many been pronounced immoral. The poet set himself a very difficult and delicate task, and it may be doubted whether any living author could have acquitted himself so well. Regarded from a simply literary point of view, the drama is worthy of high praise. It was the unfolding of its author's power over the passions of the human heart. The drama was followed by "Hernani," and the king was requested by the Academy to suppress this work also, but he replied that "he should claim no right but a place in the pit to see it performed." It was produced in the year 1830, on the poet's birthday, and it remains to this day one of the popular plays of the Théâtre Français. The interdict against "Marion Delorme" was withdrawn, and this drama also was produced upon the stage in the year next following the representation of "Hernani."

This extraordinarily prolific genius astonished and delighted the world by the publication of

"Notre Dame de Paris," in 1831. Of this romance we need say nothing, it has been continuously popular from the date of its publication until now The author further added to his reputation, in 1831, by the issue of a volume of lyrical poems, entitled "Les Feuilles d'Automne" These poems are the result of moments of sweet and tender recollection—moments undisturbed by the distracting nature of public events As Victor Hugo himself said "The author feels, in abandoning this useless book to the popular wave, which bears away so many better things, a little of the melancholy pleasure one experiences in flinging a flower into a torrent and watching what becomes of it." On the 22nd of November, 1832, was produced the play of "Le Roi s'amuse" Indifferently received, on the second night it was suspended, by order of the Government, on the ground that a passage put into the mouth of Triboulet, the central character of the drama, reflected upon the king The absurdity of the charge exasperated the author, who brought an action against the Minister for issuing the prohibition, with the usual result of actions against persons in similar authority. Victor Hugo was eloquent in his own defence, but his eloquence was in vain. We now regard with amazement the rapid emanations from our author's fertile brain. In 1833 appeared "Lucrèce Borgia" and "Marie Stuart," the "Étude sur Mirabeau," "Littérature et Philosophie," and "Le Rhin," in 1834, "Les Chants du Crépuscule" and "Angelo," in 1835; "Les Voix Intérieures," in 1837; "Ruy Blas," in 1838, "Les Rayons et les Ombres," in 1840; and "Les Burgraves," in 1843. Of these works, "Ruy Blas" is widely known in this country, and both this play and that of "Les Burgraves" are high examples of the dramatic art. We ought not to omit mention, also, of the two romances "Bug-Jargal" and "Hans d'Islande."

In 1841 Victor Hugo was elected to a seat in the French Academy Two years later a heavy domestic bereavement befell him. His daughter Léopoldine, and her husband Charles Vacquerie, to whom she had but recently been united, were drowned In 1845 the poet was created a peer of France by Louis Philippe; but, apart from all political considerations, his living admirers and those in future ages will alike find it difficult to associate the name of Victor Hugo with the title of Count With the Revolution of 1848 a new departure came. The poet was elected to represent the City of Paris both in the Constituent and the Legislative Assemblies. At this time his course of political action was somewhat dubious, but subsequently to the 10th of December he associated himself with the Party of Order in the Constituent Assembly. Being elected to the Legislative body, tenth among twenty-eight candidates for the Department of the Seine, he now began to manifest Democratic principles, and became one of the leaders and orators of the Left. He took part in the discussion of most public questions, his oratory being distinguished for its force and vehemence At the time of the *Coup d'état* he was in strong antagonism to the Prince President, and was one of the members of the Extreme Left who were banished from France for life by Louis Napoleon. During his exile in Brussels, in 1852, he issued his satire, "Napoleon le Petit," a most powerful attack upon the ruler of his native country. Though banished, he could not be silent; and the terrible, fiery indignation of his spirit again found vent, in 1853, in "Les Châtiments" Probably, no stronger denunciations have ever been hurled at any human being than are here uttered against "the Man of December." The whole work is full of scathing phrases.

After his expulsion from France, Victor Hugo took refuge in Jersey; but here his stay was of brief duration He was compelled to leave the island, together with other refugees, in consequence of certain difficulties which arose with the British Government. He afterwards settled down in Guernsey, and with this island his name has since been, and will continue to be, closely identified. In the solitude and calm of his new abode, and with a mind undisturbed

for a time by political complications, he gave himself up to literary work. In 1856 he published "Les Contemplations." This work was issued in Paris, and speedily went through several editions. It is "the lyrical record of twenty-five years. More than any other of Victor Hugo's collections of poetry, it holds as in a rocky chalice the gathered waters of his life." As he himself says. "The author has allowed this book to form itself, so to speak, within him. Life, filtering drop by drop through events and sufferings, has deposited it in his heart." In 1859 appeared the famous collection of poems, "La Légende des Siècles." This work is noticeable for its expansive imagination and its breadth of treatment. It was dedicated to France in that same year which witnessed the proclamation of an amnesty by the Emperor on the 15th of August. Victor Hugo refused to avail himself of the act of grace, and, in conjunction with Louis Blanc, Edgar Quinet, and others, he replied to the Imperial pardon by a counter manifesto. For this step he has been blamed by some, who have urged that it was his duty to have returned to France during the days of the Second Empire, and to have endeavoured to procure that amelioration of the condition of the people and the fruition of their hopes which was desired But at this time Victor Hugo saw little prospect of the realisation of his own aspirations and of those who felt and acted with him. Some idea of the vast personal influence of this man may be gathered from such language as the following, which has been used concerning him.—"Had Victor Hugo stood forward, as he was morally bound to do, the fatal day of Sadowa might never have happened, the disastrous Ministry of M. Emile Ollivier would have been impossible, and France could have been spared the overwhelming ruin which fell upon her when absolutely abandoned to the counsels and government of the feeblest mediocrity." Sanguine as these speculations may appear, they at least serve to show the high esteem in which the poet was held, and the weight attached to his individual will and example.

The year 1862 marked another epoch in his literary career by the publication of the celebrated romance "Les Misérables." This work appeared simultaneously in Paris, London, Brussels, New York, Madrid, Berlin, Turin, and St. Petersburg; and, by way of showing its extraordinary popularity, it is stated that no fewer than one hundred and fifty thousand copies of it were sold in one year. It has been said of this romance that "it contains in dilution more colossal imagery than anything we have had in Europe since the 'Divine Comedy.'" The detractors of Hugo may complain of its wordiness and of the apparently aimless frittering away of the author's great powers, but in this, as in other works by the same hand, the light of genius plays over the page, and we cannot but feel an admiration for the imagination which is equal to such conceptions. If there is much waste, there are yet veritable jewels to be discovered in the waste. In 1865 was published "Les Chansons des Rues et des Bois." These songs are the amusing recreations of a great spirit and the representation of its lighter moods. They were followed, in 1866, by a work of a very different type: "Les Travailleurs de la Mer," which has been compared with the "Prometheus" of Æschylus. There is little of story or plot here, but the author has devoted himself to the great contest between his hero and the powers of Nature. Probably, in the whole range of literature there is nothing more graphic than the account of Gilliatt's battle with the devil-fish. A critic in the *British Quarterly Review* observes "This is St. George and the Dragon over again; and you might as well blame Ariosto, or Dante, or great mediæval painters and sculptors, for their innumerable elaborate creations of such monstrous objects as blame the modern, who has, by his study of modern science, seen and restored much that our ancestors conceived. The Pieuvre, moreover, is an ugly symbol of the evil spiritual powers with which man contends For the rest, Hugo may

revel in his strength of creation in this region, as Ariosto and Dante revelled before him, as the builders, too, of our great Gothic cathedrals revelled in their gargoyles and hobgoblins. But before we quit this romance, observe the perfect unity of it as a work of art The same is true of 'Notre Dame de Paris' In that we can only draw attention to the supple, brilliant gipsy-girl, Esmeralda, and her goat, which we think must have suggested Fedalma to George Eliot, as the wonderful Anzoletto of George Sand must have suggested Tito." In the romance we have been discussing, the career of Gilliatt is also important from the social and philosophical aspects. It is a dissertation upon the dignity, duty, and power of labour The author has not only given us the hero of romance, but the hero of reality.

In 1869 Victor Hugo published that strange and grotesque romance, "L'Homme qui Rit;" and again, in August of the same year, he rejected the renewed amnesty offered him by Napoleon. Ten years had wrought in him no signs of relenting; and when he was pressed by his friend, M. Felix Pyat, to accept the amnesty, he replied, "*S'il n'en reste qu'un, je serai celui-la*" ("If there remain only one, I will be that one"). He attacked the Plébiscitum most strongly and energetically, and was again prosecuted for inciting to hatred and contempt of the Imperial Government. At length came the disaster of Sedan and the fall of the Empire. Victor Hugo now hastened back to France, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm by his friends of the revolutionary Government instituted on the 4th of September, 1870. He at once joined in the Republican movement, and issued a proclamation to the German nation, inviting them to imitate the example of France by declaring a Republic. In November of the same memorable year he declined to offer himself as a candidate at the general election of the Mayors of Paris, and during the insurrectionary outbreak in Paris he repudiated the use of his name by the Committee of Public Safety. In February, 1871, however, he was returned to the National Assembly (which sat at Bordeaux), having been chosen deputy for the Department of the Seine by 214,169 votes His name was second on a list of forty-three candidates. His proceedings in the Assembly were another proof of the fact that the new deputy's line of conduct could never be mapped out on the ordinary lines. He was opposed to the Peace, which he stigmatised in strong terms, and he also voted against the preliminary negotiations with the Germans. In the end, being disgusted with the course of affairs, he resigned his seat in the Assembly Shortly after this event, which occurred on the 8th of March, he was plunged into the deepest grief by the death of his favourite son, whose body was brought to Paris for interment The day of the funeral, the 18th of March, witnessed the coincidence of the outbreak of the Communist revolt. During the terrible period which now supervened, Victor Hugo remained in Paris, endeavouring to calm the maddened passions of the Communists. He also vainly tried to preserve the column in the Place Vendôme from destruction. Sickened in heart, and despairing for the moment of the future of his country, he next went to Brussels. During his stay in this city, he offered shelter to the soldiers of the Commune, whereupon the Belgian Government expelled him from the country. He was compelled to seek refuge in Vianden, a village of Luxemburg, where "L'Année Terrible" was composed. We find him, however, back in Paris when the trial of the Communist chiefs was over. He pleaded earnestly with M. Thiers for the pardon of the condemned men, but without effect. His generosity of feeling has been abundantly conspicuous all through his life. An account of his career will be found in "Actes et Paroles," written in 1870–72. Once again he was adopted by the Radical press as a candidate for the City of Paris—viz., at the election of the 7th of January, 1872; but he refused to accept the imperative mandate which

his constituents desired to impose upon him, and offered to accept, in lieu of it, a "Mandat Contractuel." He was defeated on this occasion, receiving 95,000 votes. In 1872 he founded a cheap democratic newspaper, called *Le Peuple Souverain*. A collection of his speeches was published in the year 1875.

"L'Année Terrible," published in 1872, may be described as an imaginative diary of the history of Paris from August, 1870, to July, 1871. In this work, says one of the latest of Victor Hugo's critics, Professor Dowden, Victo Hugo "is a Frenchman throughout, not a man of the Commune nor a man of Versailles. The most precious poems of the book are those which keep close to facts rather than concern themselves with ideas. The sunset seen from the ramparts; the floating bodies of the Prussians borne onward by the Seine, caressed and kissed and still swayed on by the eddying water; the bomb which fell near the old man's feet while he sat where had been the Convent of the Feuillantines, and where he had walked in under the trees in Aprils long ago, holding his mother's hand; the petroleuse, dragged like a chained beast through the scorching streets of Paris; the gallant boy who came to confront death beside his friends—memories of these it is which haunt us when we have closed the book—of these, and of the little limbs and transparent fingers, and baby-smile, and murmur like the murmur of bees, and the face changed from rosy health to a pathetic paleness of the one-year-old grandchild, too soon to become an orphan." Others regard the work as merely first-class political writing in verse, but through the whole there again breathes the spirit of the author, with his energy, his passion, his love of freedom, his hatred of oppression and the oppressor.

"Quatre-Vingt-Treize" was published in 1874. It is eminently striking for its realism and the large and sympathetic manner in which its characters are conceived and drawn. It may well be entitled, as it has been, the epic of the Revolution. It has also been said that there is nothing more magnificent in modern literature than the last volume of this work. Some general observations upon Hugo's method, from a source we have already acknowledged, may well be extracted here:—"The colossal scale on which the master loves to work is most characteristic; the breadth of his touch, the rapidity and profusion of his style—a profusion as of starry worlds, a style resembling waves of the sea, sometimes indeed weltering dark and massive, but ever and anon flashing with the foamy lightning of genius. The finish and rich accurate perfection of our own great living poet, Tennyson, are absent. Hugo is far more akin to Byron, but his range is vaster than Byron's. He has Byron's fierce satire, and more than Byron's humour, though it is the fashion to generalise and say that the French have none. He is both a lyrical and epic poet. He is a greater dramatist than Byron; and whether in the dramas or prose romances, he shows that vast sympathy with, and knowledge of, human nature which neither Byron, Shelley, Coleridge, nor Wordsworth had. Scott could be his only rival In France they had lived dramatic lives for the last ninety years; we have lived much more quietly in England, and in France there is a real living drama." When the charge of extravagance made against his works, both in form and substance, has been admitted, Victor Hugo remains the greatest literary phenomenon of the nineteenth century; while regarded as a lyric poet alone, his native country furnishes neither his superior nor indeed, perhaps, his equal.

To the romance last named succeeded "Les Hommes de l'Exil, précédés de Mes Fils," published in 1875, as well as minor pieces, then "Le Pape," while the years 1877–78 have further witnessed the issue of "L'Histoire d'un Crime," the latest work of this voluminous writer. A translation of it has also appeared in England It possesses special interest from its auto-

biographic character, and, like many of its predecessors, it is instinct with energy and passion In his preface to the history, the author says "This work is more than opportune, it is imperative I publish it" Then we have this note —"This work was written twenty-six years ago at Brussels, during the first months of exile It was begun on the 14th December, 1851, and on the day following the author's arrival in Belgium, and was finished on the 5th of May, 1852, as though chance had willed that the anniversary of the death of the first Bonaparte should be countersigned by the condemnation of the second. It is also chance which, through a combination of work, of cares, and of bereavements, has delayed the publication of this history until this extraordinary year, 1877. In causing the recital of events of the past to coincide with the events of to-day, has chance had any purpose? We hope not. As we have just said, the story of the *Coup d'Etat* was written by a hand still hot from the combat against the *Coup d'Etat*. The exile immediately became an historian He carried away this crime in his angered memory, and he was resolved to lose nothing of it: hence this book. The manuscript of 1851 has been very little revised. It remains what it was, abounding in details, and living, it might be said bleeding, with real facts. The author constituted himself an interrogating judge; all his companions of the struggle and of exile came to give evidence before him. He has added his testimony to theirs. Now history is in possession of it: it will judge. If God wills, the publication of this book will shortly be terminated. The continuation and conclusion will appear on the 2nd of December. An appropriate date"

Victor Hugo has made frequent appearances before the French public in connection with the agitation of political and other questions. His influence in the International Literary Congress, held at Paris in the middle of the year 1878, was supreme The Congress accepted as the basis of its decisions a speech, in which he urged that a book once published becomes in part the property of society, and that after its author's death his family have no right to prevent its re-issue. He contended that a publisher should be required to declare the cost and the selling price of any book he intended to bring out, that the author's heirs should be entitled to five or ten per cent. of the profit, and that, in default of heirs, the profit should revert to the State, to be applied to the encouragement of young writers. On the occasion of the Voltaire Centenary, held in Paris in May, 1878, Victor Hugo presided, and delivered a powerful and impassioned oration upon the aims and the accomplished work of Voltaire Unable to take the chair, as he had intended, at the working men's meeting in favour of international arbitration, held in Paris on the 25th of August, 1878, Victor Hugo sent a communication signifying his adhesion to the movement.

Some of his latest utterances on other topics have been marred by a growing extravagance and eccentricity scarcely worthy of the author whose long and brilliant series of works we have just recapitulated. We may turn, however, with pleasure from these effusions to an interesting sketch of this great French writer which has recently been published by M. Gustave Rivet. At his residence, Hauteville House, Guernsey, says M. Rivet, he led a retired life, but one marked by his usual kindness and benevolence He organised what he called "The Poor Children's Repast," twice a week, to which he invited the poorest little ones, and gave them excellent roast beef and good wine to strengthen them The number of guests rose from twenty-five to fifty. When in Paris, he reserved a room in his house for the use of any literary person in temporary distress; this hospitality lasted two, three, or even six months The sheltered one, during his sojourn, had not to trouble himself for anything material; he had his room free, and his place at table with the poet. Amongst

those who availed themselves of this assistance were Gerard de Nerval and Edward Ourline; and on one occasion Balzac was also for some time a guest. Victor Hugo has a special talent for organising Christmas parties, and is never happier than when surrounded by his grandchildren. He mingles in all their games, and even shares their troubles and their punishments. When his favourite little grandchild is put on dry bread for bad conduct, the grandfather is so unhappy that he will take no dessert. His pleasures are as simple as his mind is great. On one occasion, a poor old woman was so delighted with the beautiful poetry of her grandson, aged eighteen, that in the fulness of her heart she sent his verses to Victor Hugo. The poet thus spoke of this incident to a friend: "In spite of myself, I must hurt this worthy woman's feelings by not replying to her letter; the verses of her grandson are simply mine, taken from 'Les Contemplations.' I can't anyhow write and say I find my own verses beautiful; I can't encourage plagiarism; and I won't tell the grandmother that her grandson is a liar." M. Rivet warmly contradicts the statement that Victor Hugo is an infidel; on the contrary, he is a firm believer in God and in a future state. Though rapidly approaching his octogenarian period, it is the poet's habit to rise with the day, summer and winter, and to work till nine. He then allows himself an hour's rest for breakfast and his morning constitutional, after which he again sits at his desk, mostly pursuing his intellectual labours till five in the afternoon. Work having concluded for the day, he dines at half-past six, and invariably retires to rest at ten. His geniality to tourists has frequently laid him open to abuse in this respect. Only a year or two ago, when speaking of his future works, the poet said: "I shall have more to do than I have already done. One would think that with age the mind weakens; with me it appears, on the contrary, to grow stronger. The horizon gets larger, and I shall pass away without having finished my task." When this inevitable event arrives, the record will be that few authors have added so largely to the imperishable treasures of French literature as Victor Hugo.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by Nadar, Paris.*]



MARSHAL MACMAHON.

to Conservatism, the Marshal has never permitted his abhorrence of Liberalism to stand in the way of his professional promotion. He swore allegiance to the Republic of '48, which made him a general in its army, and he came under similar obligations of fidelity to the Second Empire, which made him a Marshal of France. Whatever he may be in theory, in practice he has uniformly shown himself a believer not in governments *de jure* but in governments *de facto*; and in this respect his conduct is in sharp contrast to that of his high-souled successor in the Presidency of the Republic, M. Jules Grévy, whom no power on earth could ever induce to disavow for a moment the Republican convictions of his youth.

But to resume the record of the Marshal's military achievements. In 1833 he acted as aide-de-camp to General Achard at the siege of Antwerp, and for his services on that occasion he was rewarded with a captaincy in his twenty-fifth year. In 1837 he was the first to mount the breach at the assault of Constantine, where he was wounded. At times his personal gallantry has partaken of the character of recklessness. On one occasion the colonel of his regiment happening, with an inconsiderable escort, to get separated from the main body of the army, General Changarnier ordered Macmahon to take a squadron of horse and carry instructions to the detached party through an immense cloud of Arabs, "They are either too few or too many," said the gallant young man promptly: "too many to pass unseen, too few to beat the enemy. I will go alone" And alone he went on his dangerous mission. At the assault on the Malakoff his courage was still more conspicuous, and perhaps, from a strategic point of view, less praiseworthy, for before that notable feat of arms M. de Macmahon had been made a general, as has been said, by the Republican Government of 1848, and deeds of daring which may be commendable in a subaltern are often susceptible of a very different interpretation when performed by an officer in high command. As it was, the audacity of the general was crowned with complete success; if it had been otherwise, his disobedience to superior orders might have brought his military career to a sudden and unpleasant end. After an incessant bombardment, which had lasted for three days, the allied army, at noon on the 8th of September, 1855, advanced to the assault of Sebastopol. The French stormed in three columns, under Macmahon, Lamotte-Rouge, and Dulac respectively. To the first was assigned the duty of seizing on the Malakoff, the key of the fortifications of that long-beleaguered city. The Russians did not expect the attack, and at first fell into confusion. But they soon recovered themselves, and recognising the vast strategic importance of the position from which they had been dislodged, they repeatedly exerted the most heroic efforts to recover it. The carnage was so appalling that twice Pelissier ordered a retreat. "Let me alone! I am master of my own skin! J'y suis, j'y reste!" shouted the general, with the lightning of battle in his eye and the fury of combat in his voice. If this was not in accordance with the strict rules of the service, and therefore not war, it may be allowed to have been grand, especially when it is added that in society the Marshal is a somewhat shy and silent man, who finds himself more at home in the company of children than of philosophers or statesmen. He is an excellent general of division, but nothing more. He is at home in the atmosphere of the barrack-room, but neither in the Legislature nor in the tented field has he ever evinced the smallest sign of capacity for supreme command. His mind is totally deficient in initiative and incapable of those rapid combinations which constitute great generalship.

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THERE are few, if any, contemporary men of mark regarding whose actual personality so little is known by the world at large as is the case with Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice Macmahon, Duke of Magenta, Marshal of France, Ex-President of the French Republic. The reason is not far to seek. He has played a great part in recent history without himself being great, except in a very secondary and subordinate sense. The cruel circumstances of his time and country placed him in a position of unexampled difficulty. Honest and brave, he was wholly deficient in those intellectual endowments which are absolutely indispensable in those who are called upon to cope with novel and distracting emergencies. Instead of ruling the storm he was ruled by the storm. He became the sport of political factions, which he had neither the dexterity to soothe nor the firmness to control. "Become a Saviour of Society!" urged the leaders of the three Monarchical sections of the Legislature, with all that is implied in that ominous phrase. "*Il faudra ou se soumettre ou se démettre!*" thundered Gambetta, as the spokesman of the Republicans. Never was unfortunate ruler more awkwardly placed. Here there were no "three courses" open—only two: the one full of peril, the other fraught with humiliation. He was the nominee of the united monarchical parties, and in their interest, as a man of honour, was he bound to act. To elevate him they had combined to depose the illustrious Thiers, the liberator of the soil of France. Such sacrifices must not go unrewarded. But which of the three monarchical parties was to be the beneficiary? Clearly all could not. There could not be three kings of France: the bloodiest and most successful *coup d'état* could not realise such a result. On the other hand, was he humbly to walk in the Republican footsteps of the eminent man whom the majority of Frenchmen in their hearts believed he had shamefully betrayed? From the first the problem was insoluble, and after keeping the country for many months in a feverish state of anxiety, "Macmahon I." not only submitted, but resigned also, before the end of the "Marshalate." The memory of his fall is still so fresh in the public mind that it is unnecessary at this stage to allude to it further than to remark that it was complete, and that it will in all probability be found to be irretrievable. It is "the unexpected that always happens," to be sure, but it would take something like a miracle to re-open the public career of the Ex-President of the Republic. Events have rendered him powerless for future good or evil.

Yet the career of this man is not without interest, as it has not been without honour. His virtues are his own, and the errors he has committed are in a great measure to be attributed to the faults of early training and associations rather than to any native perversity of character. A staunch Catholic, a Legitimist nobleman, a barrack-room politician: how was it to be expected that he was to understand the needs or aspirations of modern France?

No man in practice can rise higher than his theoretical ideal, and Macmahon has, on the whole, been true to his. The France of Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité—peaceful, progressive, liberal France—is to him a sealed book. Only a mind of great native force could have risen superior to antecedents such as were those of le Comte de Macmahon. Pride of faith and pride of birth are things hard for ordinary flesh and blood to overcome.

The Marshal, as his name so clearly indicates, is of Irish extraction on the paternal side. The first of his ancestors who settled in France followed the fortunes of the last of the Stuarts in 1689, for the sake of his religion and his king, and ever since then the traditions of the family have ranged them on the side of despotic authority, whether in religion or in politics. The Irish Jacobite of 1689 lives in the French Legitimist of 1879. The father of the Marshal was one of the personal friends of Charles X., a peer of France, and Lieutenant-General of the kingdom under the restored monarchy. While the "king enjoyed his own again" it fared well, as may readily be supposed, with his immediate followers. Macmahon, senior, had a very large family, and their interests were not neglected. A Montmorency, Rohan, or Macmahon had but to ask and it was given. The great military school at St. Cyr swarmed with young aristocrats, the Government of the day, naturally enough, deeming it good policy to officer the army with the cadets of noble houses, who would have a direct interest in maintaining privileged authority. Accordingly, thither young Macmahon was sent in 1825, in his seventeenth year, having been born at Sully, near Autun, in the department of Saône-et-Loire, in 1808. He found the place purged from all taint of plebeian *camaraderie*, and with the old revolutionary and Bonapartist leaven completely extruded. Nothing remained but the bluest of blue blood, combined with the most extravagant devotion to Royalty.

But the Revolution, though crushed, was not dead. It still had its defenders in the Press, fighting doggedly against the reaction, fighting almost as frequently with rapier as with pen; and it was from members of this irrepressible school of militant journalism that the more ardent of the St. Cyrians were wont from time to time to seek "satisfaction" for their wounded feelings, whenever they chose to imagine that the royal cause had been unceremoniously handled. Macmahon's earliest military recollections are, consequently, of duels with Liberal journalists, of whom fiery little Adolphe Thiers was not the least frequently "out." Throughout life the Press has appeared to Macmahon's eyes a hydra-headed monster of disorder, to be crushed on every suitable occasion.

From this unfortunate seminary of military instruction the adolescent officer speedily passed into one that can hardly be regarded as more salutary. He sought and obtained active service in Algeria, then, and at all times, a province where officers of the French army have been wont to learn deplorable lessons in tyranny and disregard for the rights of civilians. In the face of the enemy Macmahon has ever shown a personal intrepidity worthy of his chivalrous descent. At the end of the expedition in 1830 he was decorated for his conspicuous bravery in the field, and the following year he returned to France with the rank of lieutenant.

It may here be noted that the Revolution of 1830, which seated the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family on the throne of France for a period of eighteen years, found the future Duke of Magenta, though still in heart owing allegiance to the elder branch of the royal house, by no means so irreconcilably wedded to Legitimist principles as to prevent him from taking the oath of allegiance to the new régime. In truth, with all his attachment

to Conservatism, the Marshal has never permitted his abhorrence of Liberalism to stand in the way of his professional promotion. He swore allegiance to the Republic of '48, which made him a general in its army, and he came under similar obligations of fidelity to the Second Empire, which made him a Marshal of France. Whatever he may be in theory, in practice he has uniformly shown himself a believer not in governments *de jure* but in governments *de facto;* and in this respect his conduct is in sharp contrast to that of his high-souled successor in the Presidency of the Republic, M Jules Grévy, whom no power on earth could ever induce to disavow for a moment the Republican convictions of his youth.

But to resume the record of the Marshal's military achievements. In 1833 he acted as aide-de-camp to General Achard at the siege of Antwerp, and for his services on that occasion he was rewarded with a captaincy in his twenty-fifth year. In 1837 he was the first to mount the breach at the assault of Constantine, where he was wounded. At times his personal gallantry has partaken of the character of recklessness. On one occasion the colonel of his regiment happening, with an inconsiderable escort, to get separated from the main body of the army, General Changarnier ordered Macmahon to take a squadron of horse and carry instructions to the detached party through an immense cloud of Arabs, "They are either too few or too many," said the gallant young man promptly: "too many to pass unseen, too few to beat the enemy. I will go alone" And alone he went on his dangerous mission. At the assault on the Malakoff his courage was still more conspicuous, and perhaps, from a strategic point of view, less praiseworthy, for before that notable feat of arms M. de Macmahon had been made a general, as has been said, by the Republican Government of 1848, and deeds of daring which may be commendable in a subaltern are often susceptible of a very different interpretation when performed by an officer in high command. As it was, the audacity of the general was crowned with complete success; if it had been otherwise, his disobedience to superior orders might have brought his military career to a sudden and unpleasant end. After an incessant bombardment, which had lasted for three days, the allied army, at noon on the 8th of September, 1855, advanced to the assault of Sebastopol. The French stormed in three columns, under Macmahon, Lamotte-Rouge, and Dulac respectively. To the first was assigned the duty of seizing on the Malakoff, the key of the fortifications of that long-beleaguered city. The Russians did not expect the attack, and at first fell into confusion. But they soon recovered themselves, and recognising the vast strategic importance of the position from which they had been dislodged, they repeatedly exerted the most heroic efforts to recover it The carnage was so appalling that twice Pelissier ordered a retreat. "Let me alone! I am master of my own skin! J'y suis, j'y reste!" shouted the general, with the lightning of battle in his eye and the fury of combat in his voice. If this was not in accordance with the strict rules of the service, and therefore not war, it may be allowed to have been grand, especially when it is added that in society the Marshal is a somewhat shy and silent man, who finds himself more at home in the company of children than of philosophers or statesmen. He is an excellent general of division, but nothing more He is at home in the atmosphere of the barrack-room, but neither in the Legislature nor in the tented field has he ever evinced the smallest sign of capacity for supreme command. His mind is totally deficient in initiative and incapable of those rapid combinations which constitute great generalship.

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common sense which, in the conduct of civil affairs, is almost indistinguishable in its effects from genius. Even in military matters he is inferior to Faidherbe, for example, in professional attainments, though his acquaintance with the history of warlike operations and tactics is respectable enough. Unfortunately that is, generally speaking, his only solid acquirement. The Marshal is consequently a sort of *homo unius libri*. When he would apply his mind to the art of civil government, military art seems exclusively present with him. In 1864 he was made Governor-General of Algeria, and, with the best intentions, a worse governor the colony never had. He set himself to the task of establishing a kind of dependent or vassal North African kingdom, governed by military law. At the end of six years the experiment was a complete and disastrous failure. The natives perished of famine by thousands, while many of the French colonists in despair emigrated to Brazil. Even with the Archbishop of Algeria, M. Lavigerie, the Marshal contrived to foment a deadly quarrel. Macmahon treated the civil population as if they were an ill-disciplined regiment which it was necessary to lick into shape by severe drill. It would of course not do, and oftener than once, when a dead lock had been reached, he was constrained to tender his resignation. "Anyone," Cavour maintained, "can govern with a state of siege;" but twice has M de Macmahon found the aphorism break down in practice: first in Algeria on a small scale, and subsequently in France on a great. Well may the Marshal complain with Hamlet of the "accursed spite" which ever laid on him the task of "setting right" the affairs of other men. If he had been a wise man, his Algerian experience would have warned him of his total incapacity as a ruler of men.

On the battle-field or nowhere it is the Marshal's fortune to shine. At the battle of Magenta, in the Italian campaign of 1859, the star of his fame reached its zenith. On that day his impetuous valour saved France from a crushing defeat and the Emperor from certain captivity, if not death. The gross incapacity of Napoleon, combined with the tardy movements of Canrobert, had enabled the Austrians, under General Giulay, after four hours' desperate fighting, to drive the French troops before them with heavy loss. The Emperor and his body-guard were all but hopelessly surrounded, when, at the very nick of time, Macmahon appeared on the scene, where, according to his instructions, he was not required to be. But hearing the roar of the cannon, and divining the danger of the situation, he abandoned the position assigned him, and pushing rapidly forward, fell on the Austrians with irresistible force at the very moment when victory was within their grasp. Of 7,000 Austrian prisoners, 5,000 were taken by Macmahon's division. He immediately received the baton of a Marshal of France, was made Duke of Magenta, and entered Milan, which the Austrians were compelled to abandon, amid the enthusiastic plaudits of an immense multitude. At the subsequent decisive battle of Solferino he commanded the centre, and at the end of the war no officer in the service stood so high in the esteem of military circles.

In 1861 Macmahon was raised to the dignity of an Imperial senator, and some years later he gave a striking illustration of his independence of character in that capacity—his solitary exhibition of civil courage. When, in that year, General Lespinasse as Minister of the Interior brought in his odious law *de sûreté générale*, Macmahon voted against it, and he voted alone. Hence it has been alleged, and for other trifling manifestations of a spirit not wholly conformable with jealous Imperialism, the Governorship of Algeria was subsequently devolved on him. There he was vainly striving to govern on absolutely military principles when the Franco-German war recalled him to struggle with difficulties yet more insurmountable.

Hitherto the Marshal had been ever victorious in the field; now it was his fortune to

learn something of the bitterness of defeat. A more skilful, numerous, and better-appointed foe than he had ever yet met was now ready to encounter the hero of the Malakoff and Magenta. He was appointed to the command of the First Army Corps, with his head-quarters at Strasbourg. On the 4th of August, 1870, General Abel Douay, with an advanced division of this force, 9,000 strong, was surprised and routed by the Germans at Wissenbourg, Douay himself being among the slain. Nor was the invader slow in following up his victory. On the 6th the Crown Prince fell on the Marshal between Woerth and Reichshoffen, with a force 75,000 strong The French army mustered only 35,000 men, and it was clearly the Marshal's duty to retreat in the face of such odds. Howbeit, the Emperor "desired a victory," and the general did his best to comply with his wishes. From seven in the morning till five in the afternoon the battle raged. Eventually the French positions were turned at two points, and the centre and right broken to pieces. General Michel's Brigade of Cuirassiers strove with unexampled devotion to cover the retreat, and were mowed down almost to a man. Six thousand French dead strewed the field of battle, while 4,000 prisoners, thirty-six cannons, and two standards fell into the enemy's hands. The line of the Vosges was thus lost, and the fugitive force fell back in the greatest confusion on Châlons. In this battle Macmahon has been justly accused of sacrificing "la prévoyance du général au point d'honneur du soldat," and it is difficult to excuse the stubbornness which made him cling so long to positions which the vast numerical superiority of the enemy rendered it impossible for him ultimately to maintain. "J'y suis, j'y reste!" is an heroic maxim, but it is not well to apply it in all circumstances. At the battle of Reichshoffen the Marshal displayed the qualities of a good general of division, but nothing higher. The hecatombs of the slain are said to have filled his mind with unavailing grief and horror.

At Châlons the new Minister of War, Count Palikao, had got together a large but undisciplined force. There Marshal Macmahon arrived before dawn on the 17th with the miserable remains of the First Army Corps. A Council of War was at once held, composed of the Emperor, Prince Napoleon, the Duke of Magenta, and Generals Trochu and Schmitz. Trochu was appointed military Governor of Paris, and left at once for his post. A few days later a proclamation was transmitted to Paris in the following terms —"Napoleon, by the grace of God, &c. Marshal Macmahon, Duke of Magenta, is named Commander-in-Chief of all the military forces composing the army of Châlons, and of all those that are or which shall be formed under the walls of Paris or in the capital" The Marshal was thus entrusted with supreme command, and his sound advice was to fall back under the fortifications of Paris, so as to give the provinces time to organise strenuous opposition to the inevitable Prussian advance on the capital Palikao at once telegraphed to the Emperor the strong disapproval of the Empress-Regent, who, in the interest of the dynasty, urged on the Emperor the ruinous scheme of attempting to succour Bazaine. The Duke of Magenta weakly yielded to the importunate clamour of the Empress, who had now become the ruling mind, and commenced the fatal march which culminated at Sedan. He had no heart in the business, as might have been expected from a man assenting to a wrong course when he knew the right; he performed with tardy diffidence what demanded above all things rapid execution. He discharged his duties mechanically, like one in a dream The day of trial found him without any plan of battle, with no objective, and with no line of retreat. Fortunately for him, he was so severely wounded in the thigh at an early stage of the conflict that the humiliating duty of surrendering at discretion to the enemy fell upon others. General Wimpffen did

what a gallant soldier could to save the honour of the French arms, but with little avail. The situation was from the first irretrievable.

How far Marshal Macmahon was to blame for this crowning disaster will always remain a matter of dispute. It is certain that he repeatedly protested against the plan of campaign, if plan it can be called. He acted by the orders of others—by the orders of an imbecile junto of ultra-Bonapartists, presided over by a woman, whose first and last thought was not of the peril of France, but of the Napoleonic dynasty. Macmahon stood at the parting of the ways, and he blindly allowed himself by utterly insufficient considerations to be led the wrong way. It required no profound sagacity to discern that whoever was to rule France, authority was destined to pass from the hands of the Bonapartes. The dynasty might pass away, but the nation would remain. In his loyalty to a family he was unfaithful to the people, for whom it was in his power to have acted with effect. The hour came but not the man. There was no heroism because there was no true hero—only a well-meaning puzzle-headed general of division looking for supreme direction from persons as incompetent to advise as himself or even more so. What would not a Cromwell, or even a Monk, have made of such opportunities? He would have discerned between the living cause and the dead, and thrown all his energies on the side of the living.

Taken prisoner, Macmahon was by special permission of the Prussian King allowed to reside at the pleasant little village of Pourru-aux-Bois on the Belgian frontier till his wound was healed. Thereafter he voluntarily shared the captivity of his comrades in arms taken at Sedan, and was interned at Wiesbaden till the conclusion of peace.

On his return to Paris in March, 1871, he found Thiers struggling with a giant's strength to bring order out of the overwhelming chaos into which his beloved country had been plunged Paris, alarmed at the reactionary proceedings of the Bordeaux Assembly, and dreading a return to Legitimacy, stood at bay with arms in her hands denying the National Sovereignty and thus retarding the evacuation of French soil by the foreign enemy. Versailles and the Commune were about to close in a terrible death-grapple. "The soldier without fear and without reproach," as M. Thiers graciously styled the unfortunate Marshal, was at once put at the head of the national forces with instructions to reduce the capital to submission. He accepted the melancholy task with an effusive gratitude, which, read in the light of his subsequently assenting to supplant his benefactor as Chief of the Executive Power, it is hard to regard as having been very deeply seated. What need to relate the ghastly sequel? After two months of civic bloodshed and eight days' street fighting the Marshal was master of the self-willed city, and issued a mild proclamation to the vanquished—a proclamation the clement promises of which were but ill redeemed by the subsequent butcheries of Sartory.

By the reduction of Paris and the grace of M. Thiers, Marshal Macmahon, if he added nothing to his military renown so sadly impaired by Reichshoffen and Sedan, suddenly found himself in a position of authority, more real than any to which he had perhaps ever dreamed of attaining The army was once more a preponderating influence in French politics, and he was at its head. If "society had been saved" it had been saved by Thiers, but then M. Thiers was a Liberal who had in his old age turned Republican, because he found that that form of government divided his distracted country least. The Marshal, on the other hand, had been a sympathiser with reactionary principles from his youth up. He was, moreover, in supreme military command, and might therefore be available at any moment as a stop-gap sort of Cæsar or High Constable to a restored monarchy. Accordingly

no sooner did France begin to settle down and to staunch her bleeding wounds than evil counsellors of all kinds, clerical, Imperialist, Monarchical, began to play on the prejudices of the simple-minded Marshal. There is no reason to believe that he had from first to last any consuming ambition to figure as a civil ruler. The bitter memory of his experiences as Governor-General of Algeria was probably enough to prevent him from voluntarily seeking to play such a part again. But, like greater men, he was under the influence of his wife, a clever and ambitious woman, so extravagantly proud of her ancestry as to affect something like regal dignity and exclusiveness. It has always been the misfortune of this man to be under some influence that warped his own judgment and better nature. On his return from his German captivity he started well as M. Thiers' right hand in reorganising the army of France. At the Elections of July, 1871, he declined nominations for a seat in the Legislature, offered to him by several important constituencies, on the plea that he was no politician and that he was more profitably employed in the discharge of his professional duties. In January, 1872, he again refused to be nominated for the Department of the Seine, and even down to the eve of the memorable 24th of May, 1873, when, by the votes of the coalesced Monarchists, he stepped into the shoes of the great statesman by whose generosity he had been restored to honour and emolument, he gave no sign of altered intentions. The secret of the reactionaries had been well kept, and the whole civilised world was amazed to find the peace of France once more threatened, not this time by Communards or Republicans, but by a "Government of Combat" and of "Moral Order," composed of Broglies, Batbies, Ernouls, and Beulés. The men of order had without the smallest provocation suddenly transformed themselves into disturbers of the public peace, with the politically "know-nothing" Marshal as the ostensible ringleader. There were all the known symptoms of a bloody *coup d'état*, which humane minds everywhere shuddered to think of. In a manifesto to the nation the Marshal-President was made to talk the old familiar language of the worst days of the Second Empire. He spoke of "my government" and of the responsibility he was under to maintain an "order" which none had sought to disturb. Even Thiers, with all his experience of the ups and downs of political life, was at first taken aback at the threatening aspect of affairs. He is said to have confessed to a friend that he had thought the Marshal "a harmless simpleton but that he had turned out a dangerous beast."

On the 20th of November, 1873, the Coalition followed up their *coup* of the 24th of May by conferring on the Marshal a seven years' term of office, or "Septennate," as it has been called. Their motive was obvious—to give the conspirators time to mature their plans for destroying the Government, and replacing it by one hostile to popular liberty. They did not succeed, for various sufficient reasons. They had a working majority in the Assembly, but they could not agree among themselves which of the pretenders to royalty was to succeed to the inheritance of the Republic, and the Marshal was not the man to cut the Gordian knot for them by the exercise of an authority over them which he did not really possess. On the other hand, the Monarchical majority in the Legislature was a majority elected under the influence of panic, which, it was felt, did not represent the normal feelings of the constituencies, and worse than all, the army could no longer be trusted to cut the throat of the Republic. Many of the younger officers owed their promotion to Gambetta and the Government of National Defence, and they very naturally identified their own interests with the stability of the Republic, which had been the first to recognise their merits. In vain the Marshal in 1874 tried the effects of a progress through the provinces. Everywhere he was received



ABDUL HAMID II SULTAN OF TURKEY

with respect as President of the Republic, but nowhere as anything else. Mayors of towns presented him with addresses in abundance, but generally contrived covertly to glorify the Republic at the expense of those who were administering its affairs. For one voice that cried "Vive le Maréchal!" scores greeted his ears with the never-failing "Vive la République!" He returned to Paris a sadder if not a wiser man, for he could not but feel how different was the sentiment of the people from that of the salons.

Then came the Elections of 1876 which gave the Republicans their famous 363 votes in the Chamber—a substantial working majority. In the Senate the Conservatives still preponderated, and a dangerous antagonism was thus created. For a time, however, the Marshal and his advisers staggered at such an irresistible expression of Republican opinion, seemed to waver in their resolutions, and for some time M. Jules Simon was permitted to preside over a Republican Cabinet. But a more audacious attempt on the public liberties than any that had yet been made was being secretly matured. On the 16th of May, 1877, the Simon Ministry was dismissed by the President in a dictatorial letter redolent with phrases amounting to positive insult, and a second Government of Combat chosen from the minority with Broglie, Decazes, and De Fourtou as its leading members. It had been resolved to try the experiment of fresh elections under the pressure of a state of siege combined with a revival of all the old abuses of official candidatures. On the 22nd of June the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved and the trial of electoral strength began. Gambetta predicted that the Republican 363 would return to Versailles 400 strong, and he was not far out in his calculations if the number of Conservative returns subsequently quashed for illegality is taken into account.

After a futile attempt to instal an extra-parliamentary "Cabinet of Affairs," with General Rochebouet at its head, the Marshal was again constrained to give his countenance to a sincerely Republican "Government of Conciliation," presided over by M. Dufaure. Having thus "submitted," it only followed that he should "resign." And this he eventually did, to the general satisfaction, no act of his official life becoming him half so well as the last. His loss has been France's gain. He was deposed by public opinion, constitutionally manifested, and that public opinion which was too strong and too intelligent for him is the firm foundation on which rests the Third Republic—the "possible," the pacific, the progressive Republic.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is copied from a Photograph by M. L. Jolliet, Paris.*]

free women or of slaves, are legitimate and of equal lineage. For some centuries the Sultans have not contracted regular marriages. The inmates of the Harem come, by purchase or by free will, mostly from districts beyond the limits of the Empire, the majority from Circassia. The Sultan is only succeeded by his eldest son when that prince is the eldest agnate of the dynasty. At the time of Abdul Medjid's death there seemed little likelihood of young Abdul Hamid ever reaching the throne, and this accounts in a great measure for the neglect with which he was systematically treated in his early youth. He was born on the 22nd September, 1842. His mother, who does not appear to have been a free woman, died shortly after, and he was adopted by the second wife of Abdul Medjid, who at her death is said to have left him a considerable fortune. The name Abdul Hamid ('Abdu-'l-Hamîd) means, as was pointed out some years ago by a distinguished Oriental scholar, "the servant of Him who is pre-eminently worthy of praise"—that is, God. His father's name ('Abdu-'l-Majîd) bears a similar signification; Hamîd and Majîd being two of the Asmâü-'l-Husna, or beautiful names, applied by Moslems to the Almighty. The young prince's education, like that of all Turkish princes, received little or no attention; and his uncle, Abdul Assiz, allowed him hardly any other amusements than those afforded within the sickly precincts of the Harem. His mental training was completely neglected, as well as that of his brother, all their learning, when they reached the age of manhood, being confined to deciphering the letters of the Arabian and Turkish languages. More robust than his brother, Abdul Hamid has resisted better those enervating influences which destroyed the health and finally the intelligence of Murad, but the effect of such a childhood may yet be traced. At one time it was proposed to send the young Prince Hamid to Paris, and then to England to go through a course of training in one of the military schools, but Abdul Assiz refused his sanction, preferring not to lose sight of his nephews. It was in pursuance of his system of strict *surveillance*, that they were made to accompany their uncle on the journey he made to France to visit the Paris Exhibition of 1867, which tour was afterwards extended to London. During this journey Abdul Hamid acquired a decided taste for the science of geography, which was evidenced on his return to Turkey, where he hung the walls of his summer residence on the Sweet Waters with maps of all kinds, and devoted himself to the study of political geography with great zeal. He has a passion for arms of every description, and is also much addicted to bodily exercises. A good shot with the pistol, he rides well, and has accomplished on occasion very difficult gymnastic feats. His favourite relaxation is to lift weights and play at single-stick, and he is said to perform on the trapeze like a professional performer, entering into it as if his livelihood depended on his skill. Revolvers and guns share the honours he accords to maps, they appear everywhere in his palaces, which are veritable armouries. Abdul Hamid is also very enthusiastic in military affairs, without, however, being versed in the serious art of war, and military success has great—indeed, perhaps undue—weight with him. He has a decided taste for European manners and customs and dress; the only article of Oriental attire he has retained is the fez, and this he wears from a feeling of patriotism. It is asserted that with the passion for manly exercises, which was one of the results of his visit to Europe, Abdul Hamid acquired another far from praiseworthy habit, that of reckless gambling, indulging in play to a very great extent. Since his accession to the throne, however, he has in a great measure freed himself from these practices. Possessed of great courage and a strong will, he is abstemious, and applies himself to business. He is not, as has been said, given to drink, nor is he a spendthrift, but rather the reverse-

He inherited from his father a small estate at Kiahat Hane, and resided there in a quiet unostentatious manner with his wife and two children up to April, 1876. In that month he removed to a larger country house. There he received the ministers who were instrumental in deposing his uncle. His courage was early shown. It is remembered that on one occasion Abdul Assiz, giving way to that suspicion which is the not unnatural consequence of those palace intrigues so frequent at Constantinople, exercised the utmost severity in his dealings with his nephews, and particularly with young Murad, to such a pitch that Abdul Hamid interposed and remonstrated with his uncle. The enraged Sultan threatened to behead him; and Murad, whose character was of the feeblest nature, cowered before the storm of anger. But Abdul Hamid, boldly advancing, bared his neck, and said, "I dare you to do it." This undaunted action had its effect, and Abdul Assiz, although not relaxing his watch on his nephews, caused them to be treated, at any rate outwardly, with greater respect. Another instance of this independent spirit occurred after the great fire in Pera. In consequence of reports that the conflagration was the work of incendiaries, Abdul Assiz was seized with a dread that attempts would be made on the palace, and, among other precautions, ordered all fireplaces to be destroyed. This was done except in the apartments *of Prince Hamid, who refused to allow the workmen to enter his room, and his was the* only fire that remained untouched. Curiously enough, this characteristic bravery attracted Abdul Assiz towards him, and as he was not the direct heir to the throne there was not the same cause for jealousy which existed in the case of his brother Murad. Soon everything was changed. The outbreak of the war with Servia seems to have completed the demoralisation of Abdul Assiz, for he developed an overbearing manner and an utter disregard for his country, which turned his own ministers against him. The impoverished condition of the Imperial Treasury was such that there were no means to carry on the war, and in this strait the Sultan was applied to for assistance out of his privy purse. He absolutely and resolutely refused to devote a single piastre for the public benefit, and persisting in his refusal, he was informed that the people were dissatisfied with his government, and that he was deposed. This was on the 30th May, 1876. Without loss of time the deposed Sultan, with the Sultana Validé, was conducted to the Tophana Palace, and Mohamed Murad was proclaimed in his stead, under the title of Murad V.

The refusal of the Sultan Abdul Assiz to assist the nation at such a time can only be regarded with feelings of the greatest contempt, for his civil list amounted to an enormous sum. In the budget for the years 1874–75 it was given at £1,809,090, and in that for 1875–76 at £1,591,736. To the Imperial family also belonged a great number of Crown domains, the income from which, as well as customary presents of high State functionaries, went to swell the private revenue of the Sultan, which, together with the public allowance, has usually been spent in a very questionable way. The number of persons composing the Court and Harem of Sultan Abdul Assiz was put down at 5,000, while the annual expenditure reached the almost incredible amount of £4,500,000. The Harem is in itself a world in miniature, and has a regular system of government. From the inmates the Sultan designates a certain number, generally seven, who are called "Kadyn," Ladies of the Palace, the rest go by the name of "Odalik," and are under their jurisdiction. The superintendent of the Harem, always an aged Lady of the Palace, bears the title of "Haznadar-Kadyn." She communicates with the outer world through the medium of the Chief of the Eunuchs, who, under the style of "Kyzlar-Agassi," has the same rank as the Grand Vizier.

Abdul Assiz was, after a short time, removed at his own request from the Tophana Palace to that of the Cheragan. While confined there, on the 4th June in the same year, he committed suicide. It is needless to say suicide is looked upon by all Moslems with the greatest abhorrence. Many still doubt whether the official account of his death—by his cutting open a vein with a pair of scissors in a fit of mental depression—is entirely trustworthy.

The reign of Murad only lasted for three months. Soon after his accession great excitement was created in Constantinople by the assassination of the Ministers for War and Foreign Affairs in the Council Chamber, by an officer named Hassan. The assassin, after due trial, met with the fate he richly deserved. But the assassination affected Murad and increased the delusions under which he was labouring. The Ministry—the same that on the 30th May previously had pronounced Abdul Assiz dethroned—now became convinced of the mental incapacity of Murad. Upon their representation, the Sheik, Hassan Hajroull—the Sheik-ul-Islam—decided that it was lawful to dethrone him. The populace were entirely unprepared for another change in their ruler. Only the Friday before the demented Sovereign had been paraded to the Selamlik at the Mosque. Yet they received the news with the same apathy that they heard of Abdul Assiz's deposition; an "Allah Akhbar"—"God is great"—was their only expression of feeling. The primary cause of the madness of Murad was the treatment he had received at the hands of his uncle. He was haunted by apprehensions of a violent death, and these had such an effect that he was unable to sleep. He took to an immoderate indulgence in drink to drown his cares, and the result was speedy softening of the brain. When Abdul Assiz committed suicide Murad was seized with a conviction that the public would accuse him of murdering his uncle. This preyed on his mind to a great extent, and subsequently he became so weak that he utterly broke down and became undoubtedly insane, but whether quite incurable or no has not yet been positively ascertained. It was with difficulty that Hamid was persuaded to take upon himself the duties and responsibilities of Sovereign in the place of his brother, and it was not until repeated representations had been made to him that there was no probability of his brother's recovery that he permitted himself to assume supreme authority.

One of the first acts of Hamid after he came to the throne was to accede to the pressing necessity for a change in the system of Administration, and the seventh day of Zilhadjé, 1293 (December 23, 1876), will henceforth be a marked day in the Turkish calendar. For on that day was promulgated the new Ottoman Constitution. It was devised by Midhat Pasha, and provided for the establishment of representative institutions on the model of Western Europe Henceforth the Sultan of Turkey appears as a Constitutional Sovereign. He is irresponsible, and his person is sacred and inviolate, while the liberty of his subjects is guaranteed by the law. The Constitution also established a Chamber of Deputies elected by ballot, and a Senate nominated by the Sultan, and local government was provided for by a system of municipal councils. The salvoes of artillery which announced the promulgation of this new Constitution were heard by the representatives of the great Powers then meeting at Constantinople for the first time in full Conference, at the moment when the proposals of the European nations were being placed in the hands of the Turkish members.

The Conference came to an end without anything having been effected. On the 18th January in the following year the Grand Council of Ministers and Dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire, under the presidency of Midhat, unanimously rejected the administrative reforms proposed by the European Powers as "contrary to the integrity, to the independence,

and to the dignity of the Empire" A week later all the Plenipotentiaries left Constantinople. Speaking of the Conference a few weeks after, on the opening of the first Turkish Parliament, in his speech from the throne, Abdul Hamid declared that the disagreement between himself and the European Powers *rested rather in form and method than in substance* His Majesty added, "All my efforts will be devoted towards bringing to perfection the progress which has been already realised in the situation of the Empire, and in the branches of its administration. But I consider it one of my most important duties to remove any cause which may be detrimental to the dignity and independence of my Empire I leave to time the task of proving the sincerity of my intentions of reconciliation."

The Constitution, framed by Midhat Pasha after long consideration, provides for the regulation of the succession to the Sultanate according to ancient law, the Sultan being, as before mentioned, under the title of Supreme Khalif, Protector of the Mohammedan religion. The Sultan nominates his ministers, and when he sees fit revokes the appointment, confers rank, offices, and issues money; concludes treaties with foreign Powers, declares war and makes peace; commands, at any rate in theory, the armies on land and on sea, and carries into effect the provisions of the *Chéri* (that is, the Sacred Law) and of the laws of the realm. The Sultan convokes and prorogues the General Assembly, and can at once dissolve, should he deem it necessary, the Chamber of Deputies. The principal public rights of the Ottomans—that is to say, of all subjects of the Empire, whatever religion they may profess—are as follows.—All Ottomans shall enjoy individual liberty, which is absolutely inviolable, and no one can undergo punishment except by the formal operation of the law. Islamism is the religion of the State, but the State protects the free exercise of all the acknowledged "cultes" in the Empire. The Press is free within the limits determined by the law. Teaching is free; every Ottoman can lecture in public or in private on the condition that he conforms to the law. Admission to the public offices is only conditioned by a knowledge of Turkish, which is the official language, Ottomans being admitted to public offices according to their merit and capacity. The assessment and repartition of imposts are to conform to special rules, in proportion to the fortune of each tax-payer. Home is inviolable, with the exception of the cases determined by the law. Confiscation of property, compulsory service, exaction under form of fines, the collection of money under the title of a tax, &c, not sanctioned by law, torture under every form, are absolutely prohibited. Ministers are named by the Imperial Iradé, only the Grand Vizier and the Sheik-ul-Islam are invested in their position by the Sultan in person. Ministers are responsible before the Chamber of Deputies, which, on its side, after having heard the explanations of the Minister against whom complaint has been made, submits the address demanding his impeachment for the sanction of the Sultan. In case of urgent necessity, when the General Assembly is not sitting, the Minister can make dispositions in order to guard the State against danger, and these dispositions, sanctioned by Imperial Iradé, have provisionally the force of law. Each Minister has the right to be present at the sittings of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, and of being heard before every member who has risen to speak. He is also bound to furnish the explanations that may be demanded of him. The General Assembly is composed of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, which assembles on the 1st November in each year; the opening and the closing take place by virtue of an Imperial Iradé. No member of the General Assembly can be prosecuted for opinions or votes recorded in the Chambers. The initiation of propositions for laws appertains to the Ministry, but these propositions can

kitchen has provided the whole of the persons employed in and about the Palace with provisions, which they were allowed to take to their homes In the reign of Abdul Assiz the expenditure of the kitchen reached the sum of £10,000 (Turkish) a month. Abdul Hamid proceeded to reduce this. Instead of giving provisions he ordered that meals should be provided at stated hours. By this means ample food is supplied, but the cost is reduced more than a half, and a saving of a very large sum has been effected in this department alone. Abdul Hamid, unlike his predecessor, takes his own meals *en famille*. He has also cut down numerous allowances of the Harem, and has abolished the sinecure of Marshal of the Palace. He has also dispensed with a great deal of the rigorous etiquette of the Court, and moves and mixes familiarly with those around him. It is related that one day after a review of the troops he invited to dinner not only the field-marshals and generals but also the brigadier-generals and colonels. The meal was served in the Seraskierate, but by his Majesty's orders was prepared in the kitchen of the neighbouring barracks. It was frugal in the extreme—purely soldier's fare—and consisted of a durlubasty or stew with vegetables, a pilaff, and a "preserve of sweets." On the next day he followed up this departure from the usual custom of his predecessors by inviting the members who had been present at the Council held at the Palace to dine with him at his villa at Yeldiz-Kiosk, situated on the heights above Cheragan, and offered the Grand Vizier a seat in the royal carriage. These acts of what is considered great condescension in an Eastern monarch have created a very general impression in his favour.

On the 4th December, 1876, two of the Sultan's sisters were betrothed. The state ceremonial was performed in the Palace of Top-Capou at Constantinople, near the old Seraglio in which the relic of the Prophet's mantle is preserved. The Grand Vizier, all the other Ministers, and a number of the higher order of Ulemas were present. The Sheik-ul-Islam delivered an appropriate address after the ceremony, which was of an imposing nature. In the evening a grand State dinner was given, and the occasion was celebrated with unusual demonstrations. The husbands of the Sultanas, Behidjé and Sembé, are Hamid Bey and Mohamed Bey, both junior functionaries in the Turkish Foreign Office. Their places of residence are two of the smaller palaces on the Bosphorus, belonging to the State, situated near Beshiktash.

The present Sultan, taking a lesson from his own bringing up, has adopted a different course with regard to his own sons. They are being educated on a plan closely resembling the system adopted by Europeans. Two professors from the Imperial Lyceum at Galata have charge of the children, and every week submit to the Sultan a report of the progress made. Each month the proficiency of the princes is tested by examination The course of study is fixed by the Sultan himself, and includes besides the ordinary subjects of study an acquaintance with the Turkish, Arabian, French, and English languages. Carrying out his love of bodily exercise, Abdul Hamid insists on the physical training of his sons, and a certain portion of the time of the young princes is devoted to gymnastics It is said that ultimately they are to be sent to England to complete their course of instruction in the English schools, and principally at the Woolwich Military Academy, with a view to being perfected in the military sciences which have such a hold on the mind of their father. Midhat Pasha's merit has so far been recognised that he has been appointed Governor of Syria; and the refusal of the Sultan to reinstate Nedim Pasha as Grand Vizier, a man of known non-progressive proclivities, is another instance of the desire of Abdul Hamid to promote liberal constitutions. The Greek difficulty just now is occupying much attention, and the disinclination to make

concessions to that nationality may be traced to the Sultan, who, though not a fanatic, and well disposed towards the Giaours generally, detests the Greeks. He is a member of the "Old Turk" party, and advocated war to the death rather than any compromise which would bring about the disintegration of the Empire. The heir-presumptive is his brother, Mohamed Reschid Effendi, born on 3rd November, 1844.

In many respects Abdul Hamid II.'s character is like that of his grandfather, Mohamed II. He is very religious, and a strict observer of all the rites dictated by the faith of Islam. The first Abdul Hamid, the great-grandfather of the present Sultan, reigned from 1773 to 1789, and during those sixteen years saw the defeat of Varna and the peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji, which ceded to Russia the rich country between the Bug and the Dnieper, and gave that Power the protectorate over the Christian subjects. He saw also, a few years later, the incorporation of the Crimea into the Russian Empire; and, just before his death, the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the Russians at Kilburune. The present Sultan has already seen much of national disaster like his namesake. But it is to be hoped that his experiences of such misfortunes have ended, and that he will live to develop the resources of his country, and replace it, as he earnestly desires, in its old position in the front rank of nations.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. W. & D. Downey, London.*]



GENERAL FRANCIS EDWARD TODLEBEN

England had long considered herself bound by interest and the sanctity of treaty obligations to preserve the integrity of Turkey. Therefore, early in January, 1853, he entered into friendly communications with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Minister at St. Petersburg, with the avowed object of discovering what were the intentions of England with regard to the immediate dissolution of the Turkish Empire, an event which, with the Czar, had become a foregone conclusion. The British Ambassador naturally refused to commit his Government to any course of action upon a matter so involved. Further attempts at amicable negotiations were met with similar success, until, as a means to some decisive step, Prince Mentschikoff was sent to Constantinople with full directions and authority from the Czar. A better selection could not possibly have been made for the purpose of exciting hostilities. Mentschikoff was a soldier rather than a diplomatist: he possessed a haughty dictatorial temperament, little calculated to help on peace arrangements, and in a very short time he succeeded in insulting the Sultan's Prime Minister, in procuring his resignation, and in creating a general panic among the representatives of foreign courts France sent her fleet to Salamis. Sir Stratford Canning returned to his ambassadorial duties at Constantinople, with the title of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and hastened to enter into negotiations for the settlement of the question of the Holy Places. Towards the end of April the original cause of quarrel between Russia and Turkey was satisfactorily arranged. Meantime, to the consternation of Prussia and Austria, a Russian force was gathering on the Pruth, and the Sebastopol fleet was prepared for sea. After many protests and futile overtures, on the 2nd July a Russian army crossed the Pruth, and a Russian general assumed the government of the principalities. This occupation of the Danubian principalities created a profound sensation throughout Europe. The encouragement which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had given the Porte in resisting Russian demands committed England to the obligation of protecting Turkey in case of extremities, and France had already testified her desire to oppose Russia by sending a fleet and preparing a powerful army. The massacre of Sinope at length gave full impetus to English war feeling, and it was determined that the British fleet should enter the Black Sea, not for the purpose of attacking the Russians, but for the purpose of protecting the Turks. All armed Russian vessels were compelled to retire into the harbour of Sebastopol. "Here I am," exclaimed Lord Aberdeen, "with one foot in the grave, placed against my will at the head of the ministry, and forced on to that bloodshed against which throughout the whole of my public career I have hitherto successfully struggled."

the Sultan or his dominions. Therefore the justification based upon national coalitions was groundless. But a great war must have numerous reasons for its existence, whether real or hypothetical, and when the notion of a treaty failed, it was declared that the object of the war was to allow ships of all nations to go up the Danube. This could scarcely have been the real object, as during the preceding twenty years the traffic had multiplied tenfold, and the ships of all nations had free access to the Danube. But the greatest cause for the popularity of the war was undoubtedly that it had been undertaken, or was considered generally to have been undertaken, for the freedom and independence of nations. It is amusing to think of the average Briton consoling himself for the disasters of prolonged warfare with the thought that he had at least been the means of rendering assistance to an oppressed nationality. It is particularly amusing when we remember that the greater part of that Empire upon which "the sun is never known to set," had been acquired by means which usually involved not only the oppression but the extirpation of nationalities. However inadequate must be the attempt to reconcile such inconsistencies, the remarkable fact remains that England went to war simply for the reason that she deemed it necessary to prevent Russia from taking possession of Constantinople. Different classes of society in England had different reasons for fighting with Russia, of which the most powerful was the warlike feeling of the idle classes, from whose ranks was contributed the large proportion of naval and military officers anxious for promotion and weary with the lassitude of peace; a very similar cause was operating upon the mind of the Muscovite, and the idle party in Russia, without any particular ill-feeling towards Turkey, fomented successfully that religious enthusiasm, which for the present was capable of diverting the peasant from political agitation, and of placing in abeyance for some time all consideration about the serf or the abolition of his serfdom. Our arrangements were made with France; and under the pretext of helping down-trodden Turkey, St Arnaud, who had stimulated and consummated the *coup d'état* of 1851, departed on a "mission of mercy" to the East. Perhaps no war was ever undertaken by England in which immediate success seemed so completely within her grasp. Whatever the pretext of the governing powers may have been, there prevailed a general opinion throughout France and England that the nations and armies which had hitherto been opposed as if by special decree of Providence, were at last bound together by ties of deepest interest and of sincere friendship. After centuries of implacable animosity, each nation had begun to think that although national characteristics were different, there seemed no necessity why national hatred should be a necessary consequence. Suddenly the thought struck them that in the so-called paths of civilisation England and France had made the greater advances, and that the time had almost arrived when, instead of submitting all their petty disputes to the arbitrament of the sword, it would be well to sink their own small differences, and co-operate for the benefit of Europe. Such sentiments doubtless animated both nations at the beginning of the campaign, and amidst all the miserable disasters which our armies were compelled to endure, the different English regiments in the Crimea were confirmed in their respect and admiration for the gallantry of their new allies, and returned home with feelings of friendship and good-will towards the French people which are about the only tangible results of a campaign, commenced under hollow pretexts, carried on under mismanagement, and completed only when widespread disaster had reached its fullest dimensions. Our acquaintance with Russia also, which had previously been confined to small sections of the commercial [illegible]antinople was divested of much mystery, and we learned to regard the Russian people as human somewhat after our own pattern, with similar virtues and vices, though in

General Francis Edward Todleben.

During the series of treaties which followed upon the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, settled boundaries were made of the different countries in Europe England had as much upon her hands as she could possibly be expected to carry out successfully in meeting the requirements of her largely increasing population at home, and in the administration of her Eastern Empire. The revolutions of 1848, which threatened thrones in other lands, found England engaged with Reform Bills and an Irish insurrection, but taking little part in the revolutionary excitement. It seemed at last as if the ramifications of commerce, with all its complex interests, had taught the most warlike that an era of peace had been entered upon, and that the bulk of each nation's population was determined upon taking no further steps to redress grievances which were not its own, and had determined that the objects of civilised peoples should consist rather in improving their own lives and positions than in slaughtering human beings whom they had never seen, and who had never done them harm

Such a position does not seem extravagantly wild or absurdly utopian, but influences were at work which once again were prepared to disturb this simple illusion of peace, and to set in motion all the machinery of war. As very frequently has been the case, the name of Religion was invoked. A quarrel between some ignorant monks of the Greek and Latin Churches upon such an unwarlike subject as the key of the great door of a church at Bethlehem was the first indication of those controversies which ended in the Crimean War The Czar of Russia—who, besides the temporal power which he wields over his own country, large portions of Turkey, Persia, Sweden, and Poland, exercises spiritual jurisdiction over co-religionists in Greece, Asia Minor, and elsewhere—hastened to support the Greek ecclesiastics in Syria; and France, at the dictation of Napoleon III., lent her aid to the Latins Each Government endeavoured to gain the support of Turkey, a State which, absolutely indifferent as to the merits of any form of Christianity, would willingly have made a present of her interest in the quarrel to the first Power which had requested such co-operation. Unfortunately, however, in his anxiety to keep out of the quarrel, the Turk had recourse to a system of subtle diplomacy, which ended in offending both the parties to the religious feud As negotiations between France, Turkey, and Russia were being carried on, the question of the Holy sites became involved with another and more dangerous one, that of the protectorate which the Czar claimed over the Greek Christians in Turkey. This claim he proceeded to press with the hope of adding to his already distended empire some of those valuable principalities on the Danube, the possession of which would have materially assisted in maturing his plans for the ultimate reduction of Constantinople

England had long considered herself bound by interest and the sanctity of treaty obligations to preserve the integrity of Turkey. Therefore, early in January, 1853, he entered into friendly communications with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Minister at St. Petersburg, with the avowed object of discovering what were the intentions of England with regard to the immediate dissolution of the Turkish Empire, an event which, with the Czar, had become a foregone conclusion. The British Ambassador naturally refused to commit his Government to any course of action upon a matter so involved. Further attempts at amicable negotiations were met with similar success, until, as a means to some decisive step, Prince Mentschikoff was sent to Constantinople with full directions and authority from the Czar. A better selection could not possibly have been made for the purpose of exciting hostilities. Mentschikoff was a soldier rather than a diplomatist: he possessed a haughty dictatorial temperament, little calculated to help on peace arrangements, and in a very short time he succeeded in insulting the Sultan's Prime Minister, in procuring his resignation, and in creating a general panic among the representatives of foreign courts. France sent her fleet to Salamis. Sir Stratford Canning returned to his ambassadorial duties at Constantinople, with the title of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and hastened to enter into negotiations for the settlement of the question of the Holy Places. Towards the end of April the original cause of quarrel between Russia and Turkey was satisfactorily arranged. Meantime, to the consternation of Prussia and Austria, a Russian force was gathering on the Pruth, and the Sebastopol fleet was prepared for sea. After many protests and futile overtures, on the 2nd July a Russian army crossed the Pruth, and a Russian general assumed the government of the principalities. This occupation of the Danubian principalities created a profound sensation throughout Europe. The encouragement which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had given the Porte in resisting Russian demands committed England to the obligation of protecting Turkey in case of extremities, and France had already testified her desire to oppose Russia by sending a fleet and preparing a powerful army. The massacre of Sinope at length gave full impetus to English war feeling, and it was determined that the British fleet should enter the Black Sea, not for the purpose of attacking the Russians, but for the purpose of protecting the Turks. All armed Russian vessels were compelled to retire into the harbour of Sebastopol. "Here I am," exclaimed Lord Aberdeen, "with one foot in the grave, placed against my will at the head of the ministry, and forced on to that bloodshed against which throughout the whole of my public career I have hitherto successfully struggled."

Innumerable reasons have been alleged from time to time for the justification of England in entering upon the Crimean War. It was stated that the object of the war was to open the Black Sea to all merchant-vessels. This could scarcely have been the genuine reason, for the Black Sea was already as open to merchant-vessels of every country as the Baltic. It was also very generally thought that we were entering upon the war because we had had a treaty with the Sultan binding us to defend the integrity and independence of his empire. This speculation upon treaty obligations gave an undoubted tone of morality and integrity to the hopes and wishes of the English people, who having been at peace almost since Waterloo, felt anxious for some blood-letting, and the encroachments of Russia offered as fair an excuse as could have well been afforded. But this matter about treaty obligations, however effectual in raising the war spirit, was nothing but a speculation, and possessed no real existence beyond the imaginative tendencies of a warlike people. Lord Aberdeen had carefully and emphatically declared in the House of Lords that we had had no treaty before the Crimean War.

the Sultan or his dominions. Therefore the justification based upon national coalitions was groundless. But a great war must have numerous reasons for its existence, whether real or hypothetical, and when the notion of a treaty failed, it was declared that the object of the war was to allow ships of all nations to go up the Danube This could scarcely have been the real object, as during the preceding twenty years the traffic had multiplied tenfold, and the ships of all nations had free access to the Danube But the greatest cause for the popularity of the war was undoubtedly that it had been undertaken, or was considered generally to have been undertaken, for the freedom and independence of nations It is amusing to think of the average Briton consoling himself for the disasters of prolonged warfare with the thought that he had at least been the means of rendering assistance to an oppressed nationality. It is particularly amusing when we remember that the greater part of that Empire upon which "the sun is never known to set," had been acquired by means which usually involved not only the oppression but the extirpation of nationalities However inadequate must be the attempt to reconcile such inconsistencies, the remarkable fact remains that England went to war simply for the reason that she deemed it necessary to prevent Russia from taking possession of Constantinople. Different classes of society in England had different reasons for fighting with Russia, of which the most powerful was the warlike feeling of the idle classes, from whose ranks was contributed the large proportion of naval and military officers anxious for promotion and weary with the lassitude of peace, a very similar cause was operating upon the mind of the Muscovite, and the idle party in Russia, without any particular ill-feeling towards Turkey, fomented successfully that religious enthusiasm, which for the present was capable of diverting the peasant from political agitation, and of placing in abeyance for some time all consideration about the serf or the abolition of his serfdom. Our arrangements were made with France; and under the pretext of helping down-trodden Turkey, St Arnaud, who had stimulated and consummated the *coup d'état* of 1851, departed on a "mission of mercy" to the East. Perhaps no war was ever undertaken by England in which immediate success seemed so completely within her grasp. Whatever the pretext of the governing powers may have been, there prevailed a general opinion throughout France and England that the nations and armies which had hitherto been opposed as if by special decree of Providence, were at last bound together by ties of deepest interest and of sincere friendship After centuries of implacable animosity, each nation had begun to think that although national characteristics were different, there seemed no necessity why national hatred should be a necessary consequence. Suddenly the thought struck them that in the so-called paths of civilisation England and France had made the greater advances, and that the time had almost arrived when, instead of submitting all their petty disputes to the arbitrament of the sword, it would be well to sink their own small differences, and co-operate for the benefit of Europe Such sentiments doubtless animated both nations at the beginning of the campaign, and amidst all the miserable disasters which our armies were compelled to endure, the different English regiments in the Crimea were confirmed in their respect and admiration for the gallantry of their new allies, and returned home with feelings of friendship and good-will towards the French people which are about the only tangible results of a campaign, commenced under hollow pretexts, carried on under mismanagement, and completed only when widespread disaster had reached its fullest dimensions. Our acquaintance with Russia also, which had previously been confined to small sections of the commercial [illegible] was divested of much mystery, and we learned to regard the Russian people as human somewhat after our own pattern, with similar virtues and [illegible] though [illegible]

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The deepest sympathies of the English people had indeed been enlisted in the struggle. "We have not sought war," wrote the *Times;* "we have done all in our power to avoid it; but if it must come, we trust its evils and sacrifices will be cheerfully borne, as we are sure its perils will be manfully confronted. We have enjoyed peace long enough to value it above all things except our honour, but not long enough to enervate our energies or chill the courage which has carried us through so many apparently unequal conflicts." Marvellous mistakes and misconceptions arose in Russian and English minds The army of the Czar having crossed the Pruth, fully expected, owing to the religious and national enthusiasm which had been excited, to have experienced no difficulty in the Danube provinces. But the defeats at Kalafat, Oltenitza, Citale, Giurgevo, disconcerted such hopes, and by compelling the Russians to abandon the siege of Silistria, the Turks expelled their enemies from a country which they had entered without reason, and which they had left without honour This succession of defeats caused the Czar to reconsider his position, but created in the Allies a spirit of uncompromising opposition to any further overtures from Russia On the 8th of February, 1854, the Russian ambassador, Baron Brunow, quitted London. On the 21st the Czar issued a manifesto, accusing England of aiding and abetting the enemies of Christian orthodoxy On the 27th the ultimatum of the English Government was placed in the hands of the Czar by Prince Nesselrode, the Russian minister. It contained the following passage:—"The British Government, having exhausted all the efforts of negotiation, is compelled to declare to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg that if Russia should refuse to restrict within purely diplomatic limits the discussion in which she has for some time past been engaged with the Sublime Porte, and does not by the return of the messenger who is the bearer of my present letter announce her intention of causing the Russian troops under the orders of Prince Gortschakoff to commence their march with a view to re-cross the Pruth, so that the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia shall be completely evacuated on the 30th of April next, the British Government must consider the refusal or the silence of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg as equivalent to a declaration of war, and will take its measures accordingly." The only reply to this communication was a verbal announcement to the English Consul that the Emperor did not consider it becoming in him to give any reply to Lord Clarendon's letter Immediately afterwards war was formally declared. The Duke of Newcastle, who, on the proclamation, was Secretary at War, persuaded his colleagues that Sebastopol might easily be captured, and that such capture furnished the easiest method of putting an end to the war. On the 20th of June he wrote to Lord Raglan, explaining to him the wishes of the Government on the subject, and requesting him—unless there were strong reasons, not in possession of the Government, for acting otherwise—to seek the co-operation of Marshal St Arnaud in besieging Sebastopol. St. Arnaud had similar orders from his Government. As both generals hoped that in a sudden assault by land and sea the Allies would gain possession of the town before the outlying fortifications had been strengthened, they proceeded to carry out the directions received. Accordingly 27,000 English, 22,000 French, and 5,000 Turks were landed at Eupatoria The Allies marched southward, meeting with no resistance until, on the 20th of September, they approached the banks of the Alma, on the other side of which a Russian army, under command of Prince Mentschikoff, was strongly posted and on the heights overlooking the river from that side. After a long and desperate

forced their way into the entrenchments of the enemy, and compelled the Russians to retreat Too weak in cavalry to follow up this advantage, the Allies marched along the coast to Balaklava, where they pitched their camp It is the opinion of military authorities that if upon the first landing of our troops the fleet had forced its way into the harbour of Sebastopol, and the land-forces had assaulted the north-west side of the town, which at that time was almost without fortifications, Sebastopol must at once have fallen. Lord Raglan was prepared to do so; but his French colleague, at the point of death and with possibly an intellect enfeebled by sickness, refused to join in the assault. Profiting by this valuable remissness of the Allies, Mentschikoff gave orders that seven of his largest ships should be sunk at the entrance to the harbour in such a way as to render it impossible for any ships of war to enter Owing to this bold manœuvre the Allies were compelled to give up all hope of carrying the place by a naval and military attack. They had even to sacrifice the idea of bombardment followed by assault, and were compelled to prepare for a regular siege. Each of the contending armies was perfectly well aware of the value of Sebastopol, and whilst the besiegers were preparing for attack the besieged were diligently preparing those earth-works which, constructed with the utmost rapidity and skill, enabled the Russians to hold for an entire year a position which the Duke of Newcastle had expected to possess within a week. Prince Mentschikoff, as commander-in-chief of the Black Sea forces, has had the credit of defending Sebastopol; but to quite another source must be attributed the protracted sufferings of British troops in the trenches, and the prolonged efforts of Russian engineering To Francis Edward Todleben must be awarded the honour of that defence of Sebastopol, which has become one of the marvels of scientific warfare. Colonel Todleben arrived at Sebastopol about the middle of August, 1854, with a letter of introduction to Prince Mentschikoff, from his colleague, Prince Gortschakoff, with whom Todleben had been associated in the war of the Danubian provinces He was thirty-seven years of age when he arrived, and his position was merely that of a volunteer, without any of the social status which, in the Russian army, usually accompanies high military rank

Todleben, the son of a shopkeeper, was born at Mitau, in Courland, May 8th, 1818 Though the Baltic province to which by birth he belonged was included in the territorial dominion of Russia, by race, name, feature, and warlike quality—we are told by one who knew him intimately—he is the countryman of Bismarck. Whilst the empire he serves is the empire of the Czar, the power of which he is the most striking embodiment is that of North Germany. After the usual elementary training of his native place, he joined the College of Engineers at St. Petersburg, and immediately upon finishing his course was engaged in the expedition organised for the reduction of the Circassians in 1848 In the early part of 1854, during the campaign upon the Danube, he had distinguished himself under Schilders, and afterwards proceeded to the Crimea, where he produced the letter of introduction to Mentschikoff which we have mentioned above. The Prince received Todleben with the utmost coldness, and intimated very clearly that the young engineer might leave Sebastopol as early as he pleased. Afterwards the exact time was specified, and Todleben was allowed to remain for three weeks Prince Mentschikoff refused for a long time to listen to arguments relative to the invasion of the Crimea. Todleben, acting upon the clear counsel of Gortschakoff, urged immediate fortification. The keen intellect of Gortschakoff had enabled him to discern between the true and false rumours concerning the Allies and their probable operations. He ——ted a Baltic fleet, and had provided for its reception He expected and hoped to have met with ——branch of the Allied forces on the Danube, his hopes were realised, and his army was ——from the first he had been confident that the Crimea was the distinct ground for ——ter When, therefore, he learned that the general and high-admiral commanding

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in the Crimea had refused to believe in the likelihood of a descent, Gortschakoff resolved to waken the sleeper from a false security. Having discovered the danger, he proceeded not only to inform his colleague, but also to suggest to him the most efficient method of coping with this danger. The engineering skill of young Todleben was strongly recommended. His devotion to the study of military engineering had been unstinted, and there had even been a period when his practice of the business of mining had kept him principally underground for the third part of each year. But as Mr. Kinglake, his great admirer, has written about him, "Although his craft had been learnt at this great cost and toil, he was saved from the mistake of overrating it by his strong common sense, but also, perhaps, by his wholesome experience of the trenches before Silistria, and the rough tasks of war in the Caucasus."

When Mentschikoff refused to believe in the descent of the Allies upon the Crimea, Todleben continued to warn. The Prince said, in August, "it was too late for a descent that year; and that there would be peace before next summer." The most complete answer to all this was the arrival of the Allied forces within three weeks of the arrival of Todleben as the guest of Sebastopol. Setting at once to work with the materials at his hand, with the unfaltering assistance of Korniloff, Chief of the Staff of the Black Sea Fleet, his nimble, practical mind utilised the material resources of the almost useless fleet, great part of which he had broken up for his own fortifications. Korniloff, though capable of inspiring his soldiers and marines with an almost superstitious devotion to himself, failed signally in supporting the devotional spirit during the many long intervals when there seemed no possible prospect of sustaining the siege. Todleben, on the contrary, diffused no spiritual fervour amongst the men, but by moving slowly amongst them from morning to night, and far on again into the morning, forced them by his example of "practicality" to do the utmost that men were capable of doing. He freed the jails, whose criminals, when appealed to for "Holy Russia," forgot their crimes and their disgrace, and toiled with the fervour which, under the continuous fire of a powerful enemy, converted an almost open city into a fortress, and resisted for more than a year all the efforts of England and France. Todleben's contempt for all fanciful methods of defence was frequently and effectively displayed. Upon one occasion at Korniloff's dinner-table, some enthusiast suggested an elaborate system, which he worked out with the verbiage of a philosopher, and the complaisance of a mathematician. "There ought," retorted Todleben, "to be no listening to such suggestions. The way towards doing what is possible to the defending of Sebastopol lies straight and clear before us. We must not make waste of our time, and disperse our energies by thinking of other plans; all the minutes we have, we want." When the Russian field army undertook its flank march, Colonel Todleben remained at Sebastopol. "What Todleben judged to be right, Admiral Korniloff compelled men to do." If Korniloff was the soul, the great engineer was the mind of the defence. The prize indeed was well worthy of the efforts which the two contending armies were making for the possession. Besides the town and a great number of Government works and buildings which were contained within its fortifications, there was an immense system of docks, constructed with great skill, and at enormous expense, of solid masonry, and supplied with fresh water by an aqueduct twelve miles long, formed of gigantic blocks of stone. The Russian fleet in Sebastopol at the time of commmencement of hostilities comprised eighteen line-of-battle ships, seven frigates thirty-two steamers, thirty-six smaller war-vessels, twenty-eight gunboats, and thirty transports. On October 17th, the Allies made a tremendous and simultaneous attack by land and sea. Both attacks were complete failures, and on the 25th of the same month an army of 30,000 Russians advanced against the English position, hoping to get possession of the harbours, and to cut the Allies off from their supplies. This attack was met by Sir Colin Campbell

and his Highlanders with the utmost firmness, and it was during this engagement that the memorable incident occurred which left a hundred and ninety-eight men alive at the end of a cavalry charge, in which over six hundred men had started. With the events which occurred outside the walls of Sebastopol it was no part of Todleben's duty to be connected, and it is not necessary for our present purpose to consider them further. Within the fortress, a description of the works which he directed would *require, for intelligible purposes, more space and time than we can bestow upon it* His own book, translated into French, is a scientific and elaborate treatise, with exhaustive criticism upon composition, operations, mistakes, successes, and administration of the different nationalities engaged in the protracted contest. An abridgment of his book by the *Times* correspondent, Mr. W. H. Russell, is even too special in its arrangement to be further abridged in this short notice of the illustrious Russian, but to the appreciative pages of Mr. Russell, and to numerous chapters of Mr. Kinglake's "Invasion of the Crimea," we would with confidence refer the reader for full information upon one of the important sieges of history. Whilst the siege was going on, and before General Todleben had received the wound which compelled him to retire, a figure on horseback *was perpetually to be seen from the trenches directing the pointing of a gun, or giving instructions* for the repairing of a breach Frequently the guns of the enemy were carefully levelled at this solitary figure, and when in 1865, General Todleben visited England, an English officer was amused to find that the contemplative horseman at whom so frequently his glasses and guns had been directed was none other than the famous engineer, and now distinguished guest. Within twelve months he advanced from the grade of Colonel to that of Adjutant-General, and received, among other distinctions, the decoration of the fourth and third class of the Order of St. George; the latter being a reward which is conferred only for brilliant deeds, and upon the proposal of the Knights of the Order.

When, owing to his wound, he *was compelled to retire from Sebastopol, he was entrusted* by the Emperor with the defence of Nicolaieff, threatened by the Allies, and afterwards sent to protect Cronstadt. The case of General Todleben is a remarkable instance of the vacillating policy of the Court party in Russia. In each of the campaigns in which he had been engaged, from his first period of service against the Circassians in 1818, he invariably gained the confidence and esteem of his leaders. His promotion, for many years, considering his almost unique qualifications in the highest branch of military science, was more than usually slow, and even after all his splendid success at Sebastopol, the influence of the Court party seems to have been invariably opposed to him. However, an opportunity was afforded to him of reversing the operation of this Court *influence at the siege of Plevna* After the Russian defeat before that town, September 11th, 1877, General Todleben was invited to undertake the reduction of the stronghold Immediately upon his arrival at Russian headquarters, he proceeded to direct regular siege operations, by sap and mine, against the Turkish fortifications. The place, being completely invested, was at length compelled, after one of the most heroic defences on record, to submit at discretion; and during the temporary illness of the Grand Duke Nicholas, when the Russian forces were encamped before Constantinople, Todleben received the reward of his State services, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army. It is, however, with the defence of Sebastopol that Todleben's name is inseparably connected. Two of the finest armies of Western Europe, sent out amidst the heartiest and loudest plaudits of their people, were drawn up before an almost undefended town in the Crimea. The Government of France entered into competition with that of England to procure the finest war material for this campaign. The Generals on either side were influenced by the same spirit of generous rivalry which pervaded the two armies, and two

HUMBERT, KING OF ITALY.

ONE of the most distinguished of living historians has written that the history of ancient Europe is the story of the construction of the Roman Empire, and the history of modern Europe is the story of that empire's disintegration. During the long process of this disintegration, Italian territory has resounded over and over again to the tread of foreign armies, as at different epochs they issued from Germany, France, Spain, and Switzerland, to devastate, with all the lawlessness of fortune-hunting mercenaries, the fair fields, and to crush the proud spirit of a nation which had once been mistress and wonder of a world. For long centuries Italy had been merely a geographical and ethnographical division of Europe, possessing no political unity. The country had been divided during the Middle Ages into independent commonwealths, republics, and monarchies, which were constantly changing in name, number, and extent. By the Treaty of Vienna, 1815, Italian territory was divided into the Kingdoms of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies, the States of the Church, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchies of Parma, Lucca, and Modena, the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom (which was united with Austria), the Republic of San Marino, and the Principality of Monaco. Lucca ceased to be an independent State in 1847. The King of Sardinia, in 1859 and 1860, annexed Lombardy, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, a part of the Papal States, and the Two Sicilies; and in February, 1861, assumed the title of King of Italy. For our present purpose it is necessary to follow rapidly the course of events by which the king of such a seemingly insignificant place as Sardinia became transformed into the king of united Italy. With this object—omitting all reference to the other Italian States, except in so far as their story is necessarily interweaved with the great war of independence—we shall briefly notice the House of Savoy and the careers of a few distinguished men, who, by their well-directed courage, patriotism, and genius, have been enabled to give political cohesion to a heterogeneous mass. The House of Savoy has undergone endless and marvellous changes since its first appearance in the eleventh century, when its leaders were the mere owners of a small mountain territory in the Western Alps. Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy, after various vicissitudes, acquired in 1713 a part of the Duchy of Milan and the Kingdom of Sicily, which he exchanged in 1720 for the island of Sardinia, with the title of king. Thus, after having been counts and dukes of Savoy for seven hundred years, these princes were ranked among royal dynasties and allied with almost all the European houses. In our own time Savoy has given one king to Spain, whose tenure of the kingly office was not enduring, but, as if in compensation for the Spanish failure, the elder representative of the house is firmly established as the second king of Italy. How does it happen that Savoy has been selected for leadership? The chapter of accidents has contributed much to such a result; the tradition of sturdy patriotism has contributed more. But, paradoxical as it may seem, the ultimate triumph of Sardinia is due principally to a diligent perseverance in successful failures. When the Congress met in 1815, at Vienna, to settle the fate of the countries which

Buonaparte had lost, the Italians hailed with delight the success of the Allies; but once more their hopes were doomed to disappointment. In almost every case they were handed back to the masters who had ruled them before the French Revolution, and Italy became again the battle-field for the conflicting interests of Europe. From 1815 to 1848 Italy can scarcely be said to have had a history. There are endless records of intrigues, conspiracies, and abortive revolutions. Native princes, under the power or in the pay of Austria, issued constitutional manifestoes, which they never intended to observe, and made promises only to be broken. The House of Savoy, as usual, was somewhat of an exception to this prevailing anarchy of the other States. In 1831 the elder line of the House had failed, and the younger branch ascended the throne with Charles Albert. In his foreign policy Charles Albert was unsuccessful, but his domestic administration was prudent and vigorous. The material resources of the country were developed with great sagacity, and the State was brought to a most prosperous condition. He was unstable and intermeddling and intriguing, but he possessed the well-known qualities of his race: he was brave, he was an Italian, and he heartily detested the rule of Austria. In 1815 he gave a free constitution, and the whole of Italy looked naturally to Sardinia, and Charles Albert as the leader, in a war for independence. In 1849 Milan and Venice rose against Austria, and Charles Albert hurriedly entered the Austrian dominion in Italy at the head of an allied army. This campaign is the shortest upon record. It lasted just four days, and on the 23rd of March the Sardinian army was totally defeated at the battle of Novara, by Radetzky, the Austrian marshal. On the evening after the battle Charles Albert signed his abdication in favour of his eldest son, Victor Emmanuel II., and died broken-hearted at Oporto in 1851.

A turning-point had been reached in Italian history. Men's eyes were fixed upon the King of Sardinia, who, with all his faults, loved Italy, had manifested more liberal sympathies and tendencies than any of his contemporaries, and had harboured great hopes of a liberated country. His defeat at Novara seemed the last blow to every national aspiration, but in that moment of supreme despair the dauntless courage of one brave man renewed the spirit of a nation, and Victor Emmanuel, who had hitherto been known only as a sportsman and a pleasure-seeker, breathed new life into a dying movement. The first terms of peace offered by Radetzky were haughtily rejected, and his messengers were sent back with the reply "that rather than accept such conditions the King of Italy would fight to his last man." Terms less humiliating were eventually accepted, and Victor Emmanuel proceeded to adjust the internal affairs of his kingdom. Guided by Count Cavour, he reorganised the finances, the army, and the system of public instruction; concluded with England several treaties of commerce; established railways, and promoted free trade. When France and England were preparing to enter upon the Crimean expedition, Cavour, who looked upon Russia as the main support of despotic rule in Europe, advised his king to enter into an alliance with the Western Powers. Thereupon a convention was concluded with the Allies, and Italy despatched a force of 17,000 to the Crimea, which, under General de la Marmora, distinguished itself on the banks of the Tchernaya, and, besides its vast political results, helped to remove a stigma which had begun to gain currency—"The Italians don't fight!" Sardinia took part also in the Congress of Paris, which was held in 1856, to arrange terms of peace between the Allies and Russia. Cavour took this opportunity of laying before the representatives an able paper upon the condition of Italy. Thenceforth Sardinia, as the only distinct national power in Italy, took part in all international deliberations.

Meanwhile other forces were at work for the consummation of a task which a brave king, or an astute system of diplomacy, could, without such assistance, never have successfully accomplished.

Prince of Piedmont, the eldest son of Victor Emmanuel and the Archduchess Adelaide of Austria, was born March 14th, 1844. At an early age he became conversant with political and military life under the guidance of his father. When he had reached his fourteenth year his father conferred upon him the rank of captain in an infantry regiment, because "he wished to attach him to the army whose perils and glories he should one day share when the honour of the country required it" The leading incidents of the Prince's life since that time have been connected with the camp or with the throne. In 1862 he took an active part in re-organising the ancient kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and, in company with Garibaldi, inaugurated rifle clubs throughout the kingdom. An excellent effect was produced upon the minds of the people when they found the old popular hero thus manifesting his affectionate respect for the young Prince, whilst both were engaged in trying their skill as marksmen. When the war between Prussia and Austria was imminent, Prince Humbert was despatched to Paris to ascertain the sentiments of the French Government in reference to the alliance between Italy and Prussia. On the outbreak of hostilities he hastened to take the field, and obtained command of the 16th Army Corps, a division of General Cialdini's army. In the town of Villa Franca, whilst the battle of Custozza was being fought, Prince Humbert proved himself worthy of the illustrious name he bore. At the head of a battalion of the 19th regiment belonging to his division he had pushed a reconnaissance towards Villa Franca, when suddenly he found himself enveloped by two Lancer regiments. "Form square, my boys," he cried, "and teach those Croats how we defend the regiment's flag"; remaining himself in the midst, the charge of the Lancers was successfully repulsed. In this battle his brother, Prince Amadeus, received a severe wound in the chest while leading a brigade of Grenadiers. The conduct of both young princes on this occasion won golden opinions, and recalls the joyous bearing of their father upon other battle-fields, amidst the rattling bullets and bursting shells, "which made," he said, "the only music he could ever understand." In the course of time it became necessary for the young Prince to enter into another engagement more important than even that of Custozza—it was necessary to select a bride. Circumstances had combined to prevent Prince Humbert's marriage until his twenty-fourth year. A fatal accident had carried off the young Archduchess who had been fixed upon as a suitable match to strengthen the growing friendship between the Houses of Savoy and Hapsburg. In 1868, when the time required by Court ceremonies had elapsed, Victor Emmanuel gave directions to his Minister to find a bride for the Prince—"Voglio assolutamente ch 'ella mi trouvi una sposa per Umberto." The Minister replied that she was ready, and only awaited the will of his Majesty and the consent of the Prince. The lady who had been selected for the future Queen was the Princess Margherite, daughter of the Duke of Genoa and first cousin of Prince Humbert Victor Emmanuel had been appointed guardian of Margherite and Tommaso upon the death of their father, and although he had always looked upon these children with the utmost affection, he had never thought of his niece in the light of a potential daughter-in-law. The Minister urged the great merits and virtues of the princess, and the necessity for speedy action, as the young Prince of Roumania was exerting himself to the utmost to find favour in the lady's eyes. The King hastened to assure himself upon the statements of his Minister, and declaring that he was a fool for not having earlier perceived the great suitability of such an alliance, entered at once into preliminaries of the alliance. The marriage was celebrated with much splendour at Turin, in presence of all the Royal Family, April 22nd, 1868. Prince Napoleon and the Princess Clothilde came from Paris, Queen Pia from Portugal, and Prince Frederick from Germany. Between the latter and Prince Humbert a strong friendship has existed which augurs fair for t[illegible]

future relations of two countries which have only just entered upon their nationality. On the occasion of the marriage Victor Emmanuel instituted a new order of knighthood, called La Corona d'Italia. The Princess Margherite, who was well known to be devoted to the interests and traditions of her own House of Savoy, was received throughout Italy with the wildest acclamations of delight, and to the present time preserves that deep affection of her people which they have symbolised in the title bestowed upon her on her wedding-day: "The Star of Italy." Of the union between Prince Humbert and the Princess, a son was born at Naples, November 11, 1869, who received the names of Victor Emmanuel Ferdinand Mary Januarius, and the title of Prince of Naples.

Events in Italy now hurry on apace. The Court was still at Florence, the Pope was still at Rome, and for the unification of his kingdom Victor Emmanuel required Rome as his capital. After war had been declared between France and Prussia in 1870, France required all the forces which she could possibly bring together, and in August of that year the French army of occupation left Rome. On September 2nd the French army surrendered at Sedan, and on the 20th, after a feeble show of resistance by the troops of the Pope, the royal troops entered Rome, followed, on the 31st of December, by the King himself, who now took possession of his capital. Thus the Pope ceased to be a temporal prince, and lost all power, except that spiritual jurisdiction which he still exercises over so many minds in different countries. In 1871 Prince Humbert took up his residence in the Eternal City, where, with few intermissions, he has since that time maintained his Court. On New Year's Day, 1878, Victor Emmanuel was seized with a sudden and serious illness, aggravated by the sudden news of General de la Marmora's death. Upon the morning of the 9th symptoms of the most alarming character appeared, when it was intimated by his physicians that the end was approaching, and that it were well to receive the rites of the Church. The King had not been a devout man, though he had been a very superstitious one. His maxim had been: "Act fairly by your people first, then you may eat, drink, and be merry, always provided that you can see a priest half an hour before you die." When told that the chaplain was in waiting, "What," he said, "are we come to that?" ("*Siamo lì?*") Being well propped up with pillows, he arranged his hands upon the coverlet for the more convenient twirling of his thumbs: "Very well, I will do as you say; call the chaplain." After the Sacrament had been administered he continued to twirl his thumbs, and to mutter much about Italy and his people, until late in the afternoon he breathed his last in the arms of his son, Prince Humbert. Thus died Il Ré Galantuomo, a title which not Garibaldi nor D'Azeglio had conferred upon him, but which he dubbed himself upon an interesting occasion. When some of his promises of granting a constitution were met with delicate suggestions about similar promises of his father Charles Albert, which remained unfulfilled, he answered with: "Me pader l'era un boloss, ma mi son galantom!" ("My father was a rogue, but I am an honest man!") This remark he made with sly humour, using the word for rogue in a sense corresponding with that term when used in English in its secondary sense as a word of playful endearment. His honesty and integrity and valour were purer than his Italian dialect, which he never succeeded in mastering, and his character remains indelibly stamped upon the hearts of his people as a brave, upright, fearless king. A commotion was caused in his native place (Turin, where all his ancestors had been buried) by the intelligence that the beloved King was to find his grave in Rome. King Humbert ended the dispute by explaining, in a long letter to the Piedmontese, that national and political reasons had influenced him in taking such a step. He wrote: "To forsake the tomb of my ancestors seems to myself and my family unbearable; but after protracted deliberation we have decided that Rome is the

most fitting resting-place for the first king of a united Italy." As a slight compensation, the favourite sword of Victor Emmanuel, which had been the companion of his restless life, was sent to his own people

On his accession to the throne, King Humbert suffered somewhat at first from the contrast which his rigid hauteur had afforded to the genial *bonhomie* of his father. On two or three occasions, when it had been reported that a coolness or estrangement had taken place between the Prince and Princess Margherite, a deep-mouthed growl of dissatisfaction was heard throughout the country Before the late King's death such domestic differences had completely ceased, and "The Star of Italy," having from the first won for herself the affection of the nation, attracted to her husband its confidence and hope. Prince Humbert has shown himself fully deserving of both. On coming to the throne, he engaged to settle his father's liabilities (16,000,000 lire) out of his own private purse He dismissed some of the late King's unworthy favourites; sold the superfluous stud of Arab and English horses, which had cost much, and for which there was no particular use He determined to part with the vast hunting estates of Castel Porziano, which had been bought by the nation and presented to his father. In the wisdom, generosity, and self-denial of the new King people saw a resemblance to Henry V of Shakespeare, and the apparent change from the haughty, unpopular prince to the king of genial manners and of profound emotional qualities, affords one more remarkable instance of the little importance which can be attached to prognostications of a young man's future ments

The following proclamation was issued by the new King late in the evening of the day upon which his father died:—"Italians!—An immense calamity has befallen us. Victor Emmanuel, the founder and uniter of the Kingdom of Italy, has been taken from us I received his last sigh, which was for the nation, and his last wishes, which were for the happiness of his people. His voice, which will always resound in my heart, imposes upon me the task of vanquishing my sorrow, and points out to me my duty. At this moment there is but one consolation possible for us; that is, to show ourselves worthy of him—I, by following in his footsteps; you, by remaining devoted to those civic virtues by the aid of which he succeeded in accomplishing the difficult task of rendering Italy great and united. I shall be mindful of the grand example he gave me of devotion to our country, love of progress, and faith in liberal institutions, which are the pride of my house My sole ambition will be to deserve the love of my people. Italians! Your first king is dead His successor will prove to you that constitutions do not die. Let us unite in this hour of great sorrow, and let us strengthen that concord which has heretofore been the salvation of Italy.—UMBERTO" When the time for lying-in-state had elapsed three great ceremonies followed in succession the administering of the oaths to the Roman garrison, the funeral procession from the Quirinal to the Pantheon, and King Humbert's oath of fidelity to the constitution, taken in the House of Deputies, before the united Senators and Deputies. On this last occasion the House was unprecedentedly crowded. The Queens of Italy and Portugal were in the gallery to the right of the throne, attended by the Prince Imperial of Germany, Archduke Rémer, and Court ladies and gentlemen In the gallery to the left of the throne were the Diplomatic body, and the special representatives of Foreign Courts At two o'clock the King entered, preceded by the princes of the blood, Prince Amadeus and Prince Carignano, attended by the Court officials and ministers The throne was guarded by the King's cuirassiers. The place of the Presidency of the Chamber was covered with scarlet cloth, beneath a long canopy hung with black The whole House was draped with mourning. Immediately upon entering the King took his seat on the throne, and bade all present be seated. Signor Crispi, Minister of the Interior,

the battle of Novara and the present time, Italy may justly be congratulated upon the almost unique security of her position. Those thirty years have witnessed at one time the humiliation of Russia, and have found her upon two occasions with exhausted treasury. Turkey has been defeated in a disastrous war; has been deprived of the most valuable of her tributaries, and, bankrupt in character and finances, drifts on to the insignificance she deserves. Austria, defeated in the campaign of 1866, seems as incapable of combining the opposing elements of her empire at home as she was incapable of retaining her military establishments in Italy. Germany, under the leadership of Prussia, has been transformed into a camp, and without even the semblance of a constitution, stands at "attention" to the command of an iron-handed autocrat. France has experienced the joys and sorrows of two Republics and one fantastic Empire; she is still in pain, but with the wisdom begotten of suffering, has ceased flying at the sun, and now, with feet on firm ground, toils bravely towards the light. Italy alone of the great Continental nations has gained everything and lost nothing. "Half a century ago," asks a great living writer, "what was Italy? An idling-place of dilettantism, or of itinerant motiveless wealth; a territory parcelled out for Papal sustenance, dynastic convenience, and the profit of an alien government. What were the Italians? No people, no voice in European councils, no massive power in European affairs. A race thought of in English and French society as chiefly adapted to the operatic stage, or to serve as models for painters; disposed to smile gratefully at the reception of halfpence; and by the more historical, remembered to be rather polite than truthful; in all probability, a combination of Machiavelli, Rubini, and Masaniello. Thanks chiefly to the divine gift of a memory which inspires the moments with a past, a present, and a future, and gives the sense of corporate existence that raises man above the otherwise more respectable and innocent brute, all that, or most of it, is changed."

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the Stereoscopic Co., London.]

His political career began in 1845, when he became the representative of the university in the Bavarian Chamber, where his ecclesiastical views were of so pronounced a character that he was generally regarded as a rising member of the Ultramontane party. In 1848 he was deprived by a court intrigue of his professorship and his seat in the Chamber. But this injury lasted only for a year, and to recompense him for it he was sent as a deputy to the National Parliament at Frankfort, and here he still maintained the cause of Roman Catholicism, but added to it that of freedom.

Meantime his student's life continued. In 1853 appeared "Hippolytus and Callixtus"—a book of great research and ingenuity, but composed upon the principle, not yet shaken off, that Pope Callixtus, as Pope, must be, and must be proved to be, in the right; consequently it does but scant justice to St. Hippolytus. In 1857 was published "Paganism and Judaism;" in 1860, "Christianity and the Church at the period of their Foundation;" in 1861, "The Church and the Churches;" in 1863, "Fables respecting the Popes in the Middle Ages."

Up to this time Dr. Doellinger had been in the main a supporter of the Papal constitution of the Church, though his historical researches had been conducted with such fairness and honesty of purpose as to make it appear likely to lookers-on that Samson would burst the withes that bound him. It was the cause of scientific and historical truth which made him at length go forth with a set face upon the path which put him in plain antagonism to Rome. In 1863, on the occasion of a controversy arising out of Professor Frohschammer's teaching, he summoned a Conference, comprising some of the most learned men of Germany, for the purpose of declaring the rights of science in face of dogmatism. Ultramontanism, however, turned out to be stronger than had been expected, and the Conference decided that science was to be subjected to authority. Doellinger submitted in silence. In silence, too, he submitted to the declaration of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and to the promulgation of the Syllabus of 1864; but we may imagine how these last events affected one who loved truth and liberty, and whose knowledge of history made him not only believe, but know, that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was false and the arguments adduced in its favour baseless, and that the anathemas of the Syllabus were directed against all that made the happiness and prosperity of free men and free nations. With the gravity of a man who feels the responsibility attached both to action and inaction he still possessed his soul in patience; but inevitably, and even unconsciously to himself, these antecedents led up to his taking the great position forced upon him by the Council of 1870 and the events which immediately succeeded it.

The Vatican Council was the triumph of the principle and party in the Latin Church to which Doellinger was most energetically opposed—the principle of dogmatism which, unchecked by facts, paid no regard to theological, scientific, or historic truth, and the party of the Jesuits, Ultramontane and anti-Teutonic, which had taken captive and kept in subserviency to itself the feeble, but not for that less obstinate, mind of Pius IX. On the dictation of the Pope and his favourite counsellors, the Council had determined—or rather, it had been determined at the Council, in spite of the protest of all the most learned among the bishops—that the Pope was infallible in all matters of faith and morals whenever he spoke *ex cathedra*, himself being the judge whether or no he did speak *ex cathedra*; that entire submission was due to him, not only in matters of faith and morals, but in all matters appertaining to the Church, whether of doctrine or discipline; and that the immediate episcopal government of the Universal Church was vested in him. The minority at the Council, led by the German and



DR VON DOELLINGER

DOCTOR VON DOELLINGER.

DOCTOR VON DOELLINGER may be regarded as the greatest ecclesiastic of the present century. In his own country no one but Bishop Hefele, in France no one but Bishop Dupanloup, in England no one but Bishop Wilberforce and Cardinal Newman can be compared with him for that combination of learning and practical ability which makes a great Churchman. Dupanloup was a man of talent and activity, but not remarkable for learning; Hefele is a man of learning, but without active talents; and both of them showed lack of courage to maintain their convictions when the trial came. Newman, who fled to an extreme of dogmatism in order to save himself from an extreme of scepticism, has been extinguished under the hat of a cardinal; Wilberforce has passed away prematurely. Doellinger is eighty years of age, but his *rôle* is not yet played out. His name represents an idea, and it may yet stand as prominently in the history of the nineteenth century as that of Cyprian in the third century or of Luther in the sixteenth.

John Joseph Ignatius von Doellinger was born on February 28th, 1799, at Bamberg, and was educated at Wurzburg. He was ordained in 1822, and having been for a short time professor in the ecclesiastical seminary at Aschaffenberg, he was appointed one of the faculty of theology at Munich in 1826. He commenced life as a student and an author. In 1826 appeared the first product of his pen, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Eucharist in the First Three Centuries." In 1833 was issued the first volume of his "Church History," and in 1835 the second volume of the same work made its appearance. In 1838 he published "The Religion of Mahomet." "A Compendium of the History of the Church down to the Reformation" and "The Reformation: its Internal Development and its Effects" followed. At the same time he was delivering lectures before the University of Munich, and was editor of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*. At this time, too, he began a habit, which he continued for some years, of taking young men into his house as boarders or pupils, over whose studies he exercised a general superintendence, while they attended the lectures of the university, made use of his library, and listened to his instructive table-talk. Most of these young men were Englishmen; and one of them, Lord Acton, stayed for four years in his house—a period which probably laid the foundation of that love of historical investigation and of truth for truth's sake for which Lord Acton is exceptionally noticeable among lay Roman Catholics

Doellinger's connection with England and Englishmen dates as far back as 1837, when he paid a visit to our shores, and made many friends among the old Roman Catholic families. In 1851 he paid England a second visit, and on this occasion formed the acquaintance of many Anglican Churchmen—Dr. Pusey, Mr. Charles Marriott, Dean Church, Professor Mozley, the Bishop of Lincoln. For the third time he came among us in the year 1858; and it was only his seventy-nine winters and his multifarious occupations which prevented his attendance in 1878 at a Conference held at Farnham Castle, under the presidency of the Bishop of Winchester.

His political career began in 1845, when he became the representative of the university in the Bavarian Chamber, where his ecclesiastical views were of so pronounced a character that he was generally regarded as a rising member of the Ultramontane party. In 1848 he was deprived by a court intrigue of his professorship and his seat in the Chamber. But this injury lasted only for a year, and to recompense him for it he was sent as a deputy to the National Parliament at Frankfort, and here he still maintained the cause of Roman Catholicism, but added to it that of freedom.

Meantime his student's life continued. In 1853 appeared "Hippolytus and Callixtus"—a book of great research and ingenuity, but composed upon the principle, not yet shaken off, that Pope Callixtus, as Pope, must be, and must be proved to be, in the right; consequently it does but scant justice to St. Hippolytus. In 1857 was published "Paganism and Judaism;" in 1860, "Christianity and the Church at the period of their Foundation;" in 1861, "The Church and the Churches;" in 1863, "Fables respecting the Popes in the Middle Ages."

Up to this time Dr Doellinger had been in the main a supporter of the Papal constitution of the Church, though his historical researches had been conducted with such fairness and honesty of purpose as to make it appear likely to lookers-on that Samson would burst the withes that bound him. It was the cause of scientific and historical truth which made him at length go forth with a set face upon the path which put him in plain antagonism to Rome. In 1863, on the occasion of a controversy arising out of Professor Frohschammer's teaching, he summoned a Conference, comprising some of the most learned men of Germany, for the purpose of declaring the rights of science in face of dogmatism. Ultramontanism, however, turned out to be stronger than had been expected, and the Conference decided that science was to be subjected to authority. Doellinger submitted in silence. In silence, too, he submitted to the declaration of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and to the promulgation of the Syllabus of 1864; but we may imagine how these last events affected one who loved truth and liberty, and whose knowledge of history made him not only believe, but know, that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was false and the arguments adduced in its favour baseless, and that the anathemas of the Syllabus were directed against all that made the happiness and prosperity of free men and free nations. With the gravity of a man who feels the responsibility attached both to action and inaction he still possessed his soul in patience; but inevitably, and even unconsciously to himself, these antecedents led up to his taking the great position forced upon him by the Council of 1870 and the events which immediately succeeded it.

The Vatican Council was the triumph of the principle and party in the Latin Church to which Doellinger was most energetically opposed—the principle of dogmatism which, unchecked by facts, paid no regard to theological, scientific, or historic truth, and the party of the Jesuits, Ultramontane and anti-Teutonic, which had taken captive and kept in subserviency to itself the feeble, but not for that less obstinate, mind of Pius IX. On the dictation of the Pope and his favourite counsellors, the Council had determined—or rather, it had been determined at the Council, in spite of the protest of all the most learned among the bishops—that the Pope was infallible in all matters of faith and morals whenever he spoke *ex cathedra*, himself being the judge whether or no he did speak *ex cathedra*; that entire submission was due to him, not only in matters of faith and morals, but in all matters appertaining to the Church, whether of doctrine or discipline, and that the immediate episcopal government of the Universal Church was vested in him. The minority at the Council, led by the German and

Hungarian Bishops, and Monseigneurs Darboy and Dupanloup, had left Rome before the final vote was taken; and now men asked themselves, with the intensest interest, What will the dissenting bishops do, and what will Doellinger do? The bishops yielded. Chained as they are to the Papacy by oaths taken at their consecration and by faculties granted by the Pope and capable at any time of resumption, Roman Catholic bishops cannot but yield to the Roman Curia whenever a struggle arises between them, unless they are prepared for bolder action than can be expected from men of average ability and courage. The Archbishop of Munich, having himself submitted to the decrees which he had in vain resisted, called the theological professors of Munich around him, and proposed to them to give way. "Rome has spoken," he said, "and, whatever our personal belief may be, we must submit. Ought we not," he continued, turning to Doellinger, "to be ready to begin to labour afresh in the cause of the Holy Church?" "Yes," replied Doellinger, promptly, "yes, *for the Old Church*." "There is but one Church," said the Archbishop, "which is neither new nor old." "But people have made a new one," replied Doellinger, drily. In these words of Doellinger's is found the first indication of the title, "Old Catholic."

The Vatican decree was passed in July, 1870. In the following month Doellinger and thirteen men of like mind met at Nuremberg, and there published what Reinkens afterwards described as "the first declaration against the Vatican treason." The vengeance of the bishops who had themselves yielded fell on those who would not yield. Reinkens was suspended by Bishop Förster; Tangermann by the Archbishop of Cologne; and as the ice appeared to bear, in the spring of 1871, after six months' hesitation, the Archbishop of Munich demanded the submission of Doellinger and Friedrich. The two professors did not act hastily; they demanded a fortnight's extension of time for consideration. At the end of that time Friedrich refused submission; and the hopes of the Ultramontanes ran high when Doellinger demanded a second fortnight before delivering his answer. When the answer came they were, therefore, the more infuriated. Nothing could be more uncompromising. Instead of yielding, he published his "Erklarung an den Erzbischof von München-Freising" (March 28, 1871), containing a deliberate defence of his refusal to yield, and undertaking to prove before the assembled Episcopate of Germany (1) that the texts in the Bible relied upon for sustaining the infallibility of the Pope were interpreted in a contrary sense by the unanimous consent of the Fathers, which he and the bishops were bound by oath to follow; (2) that the infallibility of the Pope was contrary to the tradition of the Church and the testimony of history for the first thousand years after Christ; (3) that the minds of the bishops of the Latin countries—Spain, Italy, South America, France—who formed the immense majority at the Council, had been corrupted and misled by the manuals used in religious seminaries, such as S. Alfonso de' Liguori's "Moral Theology," Perrone's "Theology," and other like books; (4) that the resolutions of the Vatican Council were in glaring contradiction to the decrees of two General Councils in the fifteenth century, which were confirmed by Popes; (5) that the new decrees were incompatible with the constitutions of the States of Europe, and especially that of Bavaria. In case he did not prove his points, he promised to revoke all that he had written on the subject. His challenge ends with the following personal declaration:—

"As a Christian, as a theologian, as an historian, as a citizen, I cannot accept this doctrine: for it is irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel and with the plain words of Christ and of the Apostles; it purposes just that establishment of the kingdom of this world which Christ rejected; it claims that rule over all communions which Peter forbids to all and

to himself. Not as a theologian can I receive it, for the whole true tradition of the Church is in irreconcilable opposition to it. Not as an historian can I accept it, for as such, I know that the persistent endeavour to realise this theory of a kingdom of the world has cost Europe rivers of blood, has confounded and degraded whole countries, has shaken the beautiful organic architecture of the elder Church, and has begotten, fed, and sustained the worst abuses of the Church. Finally, as a citizen I must put it away from me, because by the claims on the submission of States and monarchs and of the whole political order under the Papal power, and by the exceptional position which it claims for the clergy, it lays the foundation of endless ruinous dispute between Church and State, between clergy and laity."

It need hardly be said that the Archbishop declined the great theologian's challenge, curtly informing him, at the same time, that adherence to the opinions which he had put forth would convict him of heresy. The eyes of Germany and of Europe were more and more fixed on the struggle. The professors of the University of Munich sent their leader an address of sympathy, in which all but three assured him of their support; a like address was presented from the Roman University, the Town Council of Vienna, and other places. In April the Archbishop struck his final blow, and excommunicated Doellinger and Friedrich. Doellinger quietly desisted from the exercise of his priestly functions. But the Bavarian spirit was by this time roused. Anti-Vatican meetings, addresses, and petitions followed each other at Munich, and the refusal of the last rites of the Church to Dr. Zenger, on the ground of his having signed the address of sympathy to Dr. Doellinger, led to an excited demonstration of feeling against the Archbishop's party. The University of Munich elected Doellinger as its Rector. The University of Oxford paid him the compliment of creating him, in his absence, a Doctor of Civil Law. The sympathy of the Church of England was shown him by visits paid to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Argyll and several English clergymen, one of whom wrote at the beginning of June:—"There is a simplicity of manner and a humility about him which are very attractive in so great a man. At the same time, there is a firmness, a decision, and a courage which command respect, and a gentle cheerfulness in the midst of distress which is very winning and re-assuring. I believe him to be a genuine Christian who will never cease to love his Lord, and a firm Churchman who is resolved to maintain the deposit of the Faith as it was handed down to him, and to resist to the utmost the last Papal innovation, which corrupts and potentially annihilates it. It is true that the deposit, as received by him, is itself not altogether pure; but as the principle on which the battle against Infallibility must be fought is that of appeal to the Holy Scripture and to the doctrines and usages of the Primitive Church, it is likely that all dogmas and practices which will not bear the application of that test will be gradually given up. I saw no signs of any likelihood of a cowardly compromise with the Pope. As we parted, and I prayed God to bless the great work in which he was engaged, he thanked me warmly, and said, with a bright smile, 'We are walking in parallel lines, if not in the same path.'" *

Six months after the issue of Dr. Doellinger's Declaration to the Archbishop, the first Old Catholic Congress assembled. It was held at Munich, on September 22, 23, 24, under the presidency of Professor von Schulte, and consisted of 500 delegates. Doellinger was upon the committee, and on his first appearance the whole meeting rose to do him honour, and

* "Letter to the Bishop of Winchester from the Secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society."—*Report*, 1871.

again at the close of the Congress it paid him the same tribute of respect. This was the first of those Old Catholic Congresses which have since been held annually.

At the end of 1871 Doellinger made his inaugural address as Rector of the University of Munich, and in the next spring he delivered a course of lectures, in which he sketched the history of the English and German Reformation with a fairness never found in a Roman Catholic controversialist, and invited all Christians to a common meeting-ground in the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, the Primitive Œcumenical Councils, and the Church of the first centuries.

The next step forward in the Old Catholic movement was a Confirmation tour, in the summer of 1872, by the Archbishop of Utrecht, who was welcomed, on his arrival at Munich, by Doellinger and others, at whose request and on whose behalf he "confirmed the Churches." In September was held the Congress at Cologne, which was attended by the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Maryland. At this Congress a committee on the re-union of Christians was appointed, consisting of Dr. von Doellinger, President, Professor Friedrich, Secretary; Professors Reinkens, von Schulte, Michelis, Reusch, Langen, Lutterbeck, Michaud, and Herr Rottels. Reinkens, in proposing the appointment of this committee, declared that Doellinger and himself were agreed in the opinion "that a union of confessions may be attained on the basis of Holy Scripture and of the Œcumenical confessions of the early Church, expounded in accordance with the doctrine of the undivided Church of the first centuries."

From this time forward Dr. Doellinger appears to have turned his attention primarily to the work of marshalling the rest of Christendom against Vaticanism, leaving the task of the organisation of the German congregations and synods—an uncongenial work to so profound and severe a student—to others more qualified to deal with details. Accordingly, he took no leading part in the election and consecration of Bishop Reinkens, nor in the Congress of Constance, held in 1873. But in December of the same year committees of three Munich professors and three Bonn professors were constituted, to enter into communication respectively with English and Russian Churchmen. The Munich committee consisted of Drs. Doellinger, Friedrich, and Messmer, and to them a series of letters was addressed by the Rev. T. Meyrick, in behalf of an English committee, consisting of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, Professor Mayor, and himself, dealing with the following questions:—(1) Schism; (2) The devotional spirit of the Church of England; (3) Her rule of Faith; (4) Her conception of the Church's constitution; (5) Her dogmatical teaching; (6) Her reformation; (7) The specific differences between her teaching and that of the Roman Church; (8) Her present sympathies; (9) Her teaching on the points under discussion between the Bonn Committee and Russian Churchmen. These communications led to the maturing in Dr. Doellinger's mind of the scheme of the re-union Conferences at Bonn, where these and kindred subjects might be discussed *viva voce* by Old Catholics, Orientals, and English Churchmen.

"Those who are called Old Catholics," he wrote (July 1, 1874), "cannot and will not regulate themselves in questions of peace and unity by the decrees of Trent. If they did, an experiment like that of the projected meeting would be hopeless indeed. I firmly believe that we who claim to be true Catholics and professors of genuine unadulterated Christianity are obliged in conscience to make great concessions, and to introduce gradually considerable modifications wherever the departure of the embryo Vatican Church, as you call it, from the ancient Church and its principles is evident. You have pointed out with perfect justice some of these

indispensable corrections, and I trust that by personal discussion we may come to an agreement, or at least mutual toleration, respecting several other difficult questions."*

On September 14, 1874, the Conference of Bonn met. It was called by a circular signed by Doellinger, in which its object was declared to be "the re-establishment of intercommunion between the Churches on the basis of *Unitas in necessariis*, without interference with those particular tenets of individual Churches which do not affect the essentials of the ancient Church confession." Dr Doellinger, of course, presided over it. The following description of him was given by the correspondent of the *Times* —"The calm intelligence with which he grasped the meaning of the English speakers, as well as of the other foreigners through their broken German, excited the admiration of every one. When the noble, benignant-looking old man stood listening to the long, hesitating objections of many present with admirable patience and temper, he perfectly realised what I imagine to have been the appearance of those who, in the old times of the Church, were ready to suffer death and persecution in defence of what they believed to be the truth."

The Conference was surprisingly successful, an agreement being come to between the Old Catholics, Orientals, and Anglicans there present on the canon of Scripture, the superior authority of the original text of Scripture to the Vulgate, the liberty and duty of reading Scripture, the use of the vulgar tongue in public prayers, justification, merit, works of supererogation, the number of the Sacraments, tradition, the Immaculate Conception, confession, indulgences, prayers for the dead, the Eucharist. An address of congratulation to Dr. Doellinger on the results of the meeting, having been adopted by the Committee of the Anglo-Continental Society, was signed, without solicitation, by 500 English clergymen. At the conclusion of the Conference a committee had been appointed for the consideration of certain points which had been left undecided, consisting of Dr. Doellinger and a representative of Russia, Greece, England, and America.† This committee continued to correspond during the year, and so prepared the way for the Conference of the following year.‡ The invitation to the second Conference was issued in July, 1875, by Dr. Doellinger, the object of it being declared to be: first, to effect a renewal of the common confession of the great Christian doctrines which constituted the faith of the original undivided Churches as laid down in their creeds; and next, on the ground of this common confession, to re-establish an intercommunion and confederation of Churches, each of which would recognise the other as a true Church without proceeding to an absolute amalgamation, or destroying peculiarities of doctrine, constitution, and ritual. The Conference was held on August 12—16, and during these five days the extraordinary and varied powers of the great German theologian were even more conspicuous than upon the occasion of the previous Conference. With a courage and confidence of success which was perhaps shared by no other members of the Conference, Dr. Doellinger determined to find a formula that should express the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit to which both the East and West might yield adherence. As this doctrine had been the chief subject of dispute between the Eastern and Western Churches for the last thousand years, and hitherto every effort to come to an understanding had been in vain, the attempt appeared hopeless; but Doellinger succeeded. At first, indeed,

* Letter in *Correspondence of the Anglo-Continental Society*, Part I. (Rivingtons, 1874)

† The other members of it were Kireef, Rhossis, Meyrick, Nevin

‡ See "Correspondence between the Secretaries of the Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment and the Anglo-Continental Society" (Rivingtons, 1875)

nothing but dissension appeared, on which it was proposed and carried to relegate the question to a committee, consisting of five members of the Eastern Church, three Old Catholics, and three Anglicans.* We are told by a member of this committee that "nothing could exceed the gravity, the earnestness, the vivacity, the good temper, with which each point was contested by the representatives of the East and West."† After many schemes had been proposed and abandoned, unanimous agreement was at length come to on seven propositions, extracted by Dr Doellinger from the writings of St John of Damascus These propositions were afterwards unanimously accepted by the Conference, and their orthodoxy has been admitted by a committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, as well as by the authorities of the Old Catholic and Russo-Greek Churches. As they do not shrink from grappling fairly with the whole question, we may say that Doellinger has solved a difficulty which the Councils of Lyons and Florence and a thousand years of controversy had been unable to overcome

The other questions brought before the Conference by Dr. Doellinger were the validity of Holy Orders in the English Church, Purgatory, Infallibility, and the Papacy. On the first of these Dr. Doellinger made two addresses to the Orientals, in which he unhesitatingly defended the Anglican position, maintaining that there was less doubt of the validity of Orders in the Church of England than in many parts of the Roman Communion. On the second he gave a concise history of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, showing that it originated in the seventh century, and was formulated by the Schoolmen in the thirteenth century, while the theory of Indulgences was added to it in the fourteenth century. For himself and the Old Catholics, he declared that he "washed his hands clean" of any such doctrine. On the subject of Infallibility he showed how the necessity of accepting it, together with the absolute and immediate supremacy of the Pope over all baptised persons, reduced the whole of the Eastern Church, and such Gallican and moderate Churchmen as Bossuet and Dupin were, and he himself had been, to the state of heretics in the eyes of Rome. But the most surprising effort of the veteran controversialist and historian was his final speech. For four days he had stood almost continuously in front of the assembled body of divines, taking up and replying to every speech as soon as it was made in German or in English, and sometimes addressing the Conference continuously for hours; in the committee he had proposed, refuted, argued, receiving on his shield weapons from all sides, and returning them with irresistible force, allowing himself no break or interval except such as was sufficient for a plunge each day in the Rhine And at the end of these four days he stood up, as if he had been a man of thirty-eight instead of seventy-six, and delivered a speech of five hours' length on the disastrous effects that had been wrought on Western Christendom by the Papacy, passing in review, one after the other, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, South America, Austria, and handling the affairs of each country with a fulness and exactness which would have been remarkable if he had confined himself to the history of a single nation; and throughout the five hours he riveted by his voice and action the attention of every one present, and retained their interest hour after hour, though addressing them in a language which to many was perfectly unknown, and to most was so unfamiliar, that his meaning was only doubtfully

* Archbishop Lycurgus, Archimandrites Anastasiades and Bryennius, Professor Ossinin, Archpriest Janyscheff, Dr. von Doellinger, Bishop Reinkens, Professor Langen, Canon Liddon, Prebendary Meyrick, Dr. Nevin.

† *Two Papers on the Old Catholic Movement and the Bonn Conference*, read at the Plymouth Church Congress, 1877, p. 13. (Wells Gardner)

guessed at. The Bishop of Meath, recalling the scene, spoke at the Plymouth Church Congress with enthusiasm of "'that old man eloquent,' with keen glance and playful smile and busy brain, still all aglow with the quenchless fire of youth."

Since the second Conference of Bonn, in 1875, Dr. Doellinger has been less conspicuously before the world. He has not hitherto summoned a third Conference. It is understood that he felt discouraged from doing so on seeing his efforts for the peace of the Church thwarted by the unexpected opposition of Dr. Pusey in England, and by the intolerance of some of the adherents of the Oriental Church. Any fear respecting English feeling, however, was soon removed, for a committee of the House of Convocation, after a careful and minute examination of the proposals made at Bonn, gave them their entire approval, and no fewer than 38 bishops, 3,800 priests and deacons, and 4,170 lay communicants of the Church of England (in all 8,008) signed an address of thanks and congratulation to him, on the invitation of Mr. Beresford Hope, M P. But the storm of the Russian and Turkish war fell upon Europe, and with it all hope of a Conference between Russian and English Churchmen perished; nor has the political atmosphere yet sufficiently cleared for the hope to revive.

The accession of a new Pope and the consequent change of policy in the Roman Curia—a change not affecting the ends aimed at, but only the means employed towards those ends—naturally raised hopes in the minds of the Papal party of recovering Doellinger to their side. Leo XIII. sent an Austrian prelate to him with a message bidding him return, as there was now a different Pope "Yes," said Doellinger, "but the same Papacy." A new Archbishop of Munich, once Doellinger's pupil, also made advances to him, but received for answer that he could not recognise as true what he believed to be a falsehood. In 1879, on the occasion of Dr. Newman's proceeding to Italy to receive his cardinal's hat, the Vaticanist papers persistently maintained once more that the great German reformer was on the point of submission to the Papacy. Dr. Doellinger wrote at last to Dr. Nevin, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Rome, contradicting these false reports.

"I have neither written nor done anything which could have given occasion to such a rumour," he writes. "The circumstances which are mentioned in some papers are gratuitous inventions; and only three weeks ago I published a lecture (*Allgem. Zeitung*, 6th, 7th, 8th April, 1879) in which I state in so many words that nobody possessing a scientific culture of mind can ever accept the decrees of the Vatican Council. Having devoted my time during the last nine years principally to the renewed study of all the questions connected with the history of the Popes and the Councils, and, I may say, gone again over the whole ground of ecclesiastical history, the result is that the proofs of the falsehood of the Vatican decrees amount to demonstration. When I am told that I must swear to the truth of those doctrines, my feeling is just as if I were asked to swear that two and two make five, and not four."

This decisive letter was written on May 4, 1879, from Munich. There the learned professor now, as formerly, resides, still pursuing his favourite study of ecclesiastical history, preparing his voluminous notes for publication, and watching with keen eyes the fortunes of the Church in all parts of the globe.



HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

poet himself, wrote of Longfellow in 1840: "The poetry of Mr. Longfellow is marked by a very vivid imagination; great susceptibility to the impressions of natural scenery, and a ready perception of the analogies between natural objects and the feelings of the human heart. But, besides this, he possesses an extraordinary command over the powers of language, and turns it into any form at will—

'Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony'"

Mr. Longfellow's "Outre Mer: a Pilgrimage beyond the Sea," the first of his prose works, appeared in 1835, and was followed two years later by "Hyperion, a Romance." So popular was the latter work that fifteen thousand copies of it were sold in twenty years. An English critic, the late George Gilfillan, interpreted the general feeling in regard to this work when he described its charm as lying "partly in the 'excelsior' progress of the hero's mind, partly in the sketches of the great German authors, and principally in the sparkling imagery, and waving billowy language of the book. Longfellow in this work is Jean Paul Richter, without his grotesque extravagancies, or riotous humour, or turbulent force." It was undoubtedly a most successful effort in romantic fiction. "The Voices of the Night," a series of poems containing some of the most pathetic utterances of the poet, were published in a collected form in 1839. Who has not been moved by the solemnity which pervades the "Hymn to the Night," "The Reaper and the Flowers," "The Light of Stars," "Footsteps of Angels," and "The Midnight Mass for the Dying Year?" In all these poems the author directly appealed to the human heart, and awoke in it responsive chords. The sale of this and other works appears almost fabulous. In 1857, that is, only eighteen years after the first publication of the "Voices of the Night," forty-three thousand copies had been disposed of, and it is not too much to assume that since that time the number of copies has been doubled.

In 1841 Mr. Longfellow published his "Ballads and other Poems," a collection including those favourite lyrics "The Village Blacksmith," "The Skeleton in Armour," and "The Wreck of the Hesperus." Edgar Allan Poe, with a personality to be regretted as coming from a brother poet, attacked this volume on the ground that the writer regarded the inculcation of a moral as essential. The highest morality is taught by the greatest poets, and it is somewhat extraordinary to find this objected to. To the *manner* of teaching morality objection may frequently fairly be taken, but this is another matter. The same critic adversely reviewed the "Poems on Slavery" and "The Spanish Student," alleging that "a man of genius has no business with these hybrid and paradoxical compositions." Poe, however, stood alone; Mr. Whipple representing the popular sentiment when he observed that in "The Spanish Student," Mr. Longfellow most strikingly manifested the affluence of his imagination in images of grace, grandeur, and beauty. "None of his other pieces so well illustrate all his poetical qualities—his imagination, his fancy, his sentiment, and his manner. It seems to comprehend the whole extent of his 'genius.'" In 1846 appeared "The Belfry of Bruges, and other Poems," and in 1847, "Evangeline: a Tale of Acadie." This picture of life in primitive Nova Scotia is charged with tenderness, and distinguished for the intensity of its local colouring. The historical incidents upon which this beautiful legendary poem are founded are now matter of almost universal knowledge. The inhabitants of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, having been suspected of giving assistance to the French (their ancestors) by the British Government, were exiled from their homes under circumstances of great hardship, and distributed over other English colonies. Out of the sufferings of some of these expatriated people the poet has woven a touching narrative, interspersed with passages of exquisite description of natural scenery. The story of Gabriel and Evangeline, with its tragic ending, is told with genuine pathos, and the poem remains

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, the most popular of all living poets—not excepting even Mr. Tennyson—was born at Portland, Maine, February 27th, 1807, "in an old square wooden house upon the edge of the sea." He was a son of the late Hon. Stephen Longfellow, and a descendant of William Longfellow, of Newbury, Massachusetts. This last-named gentleman was a native of Hampshire, England. He was born in the year 1651, and emigrated to Newbury, Massachusetts, where, at the age of twenty-five, he married Annie Sewall. He ended his career by being accidentally drowned in an estuary of the St. Lawrence, in 1690. The poet is descended on the mother's side from John Alden, who went over to America in the *Mayflower*, and was the first man that landed at Plymouth.

Entering Bowdoin College at the age of fourteen, Mr Longfellow graduated in 1825, and subsequently devoted himself for a short time to the study of the law. When only eighteen years of age he received the appointment of Professor of Modern Languages in his *Alma Mater*—an appointment that is probably unprecedented in the annals of literature, but for which the young student appears to have been well and amply qualified In 1826 he proceeded to Europe, and spent three years and a half in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, and England. The results of this tour are apparent in his early works, the traveller having become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of various European literatures. In 1829 Mr Longfellow returned to his native country, and two years afterwards married. In 1835 he succeeded Mr. George Ticknor as Professor of *Belles Lettres* in Harvard College, and the same year he paid a second visit to Europe; Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Germany, the Tyrol and Switzerland were all visited in succession. During his stay at Rotterdam, Mr. Longfellow had the misfortune to lose his wife, and this event invested "the ancient city with an undying interest in his memory." Some years later he visited Europe for a third time, and in 1843 he again married. In 1854 he retired from his professorship in Harvard College—which he had held for twenty years—in order to devote himself exclusively to literary pursuits. For upwards of forty years he has occupied the Craigie House, Cambridge, the head-quarters of General Washington after the battle of Bunker's Hill. The history of Craigie House (which has been the residence of many distinguished Americans) is agreeably narrated in the "Homes of American Authors," by Mr. G. W. Curtis.

The mere mention of the works of this author would occupy a considerable space. Very early in life we find him a contributor to the *North American Review*, and two of his papers in that well-known periodical, entitled respectively "An Essay on Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesy," and the "Moral and Devotional Poetry of Spain," attracted great attention. But original poetical composition also early engaged his attention, and before the age of eighteen he had written "Woods in Winter," "An April Day," and other popular short pieces. Alike in matter and style, these poems must be pronounced remarkable, as the production of a mere youth. One who was no mean

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, the most popular of all living poets—not excepting even Mr. Tennyson—was born at Portland, Maine, February 27th, 1807, "in an old square wooden house upon the edge of the sea." He was a son of the late Hon. Stephen Longfellow, and a descendant of William Longfellow, of Newbury, Massachusetts. This last-named gentleman was a native of Hampshire, England. He was born in the year 1651, and emigrated to Newbury, Massachusetts, where, at the age of twenty-five, he married Annie Sewall. He ended his career by being accidentally drowned in an estuary of the St. Lawrence, in 1690. The poet is descended on the mother's side from John Alden, who went over to America in the *Mayflower*, and was the first man that landed at Plymouth.

Entering Bowdoin College at the age of fourteen, Mr. Longfellow graduated in 1825, and subsequently devoted himself for a short time to the study of the law. When only eighteen years of age he received the appointment of Professor of Modern Languages in his *Alma Mater*—an appointment that is probably unprecedented in the annals of literature, but for which the young student appears to have been well and amply qualified. In 1826 he proceeded to Europe, and spent three years and a half in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, and England. The results of this tour are apparent in his early works, the traveller having become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of various European literatures. In 1829 Mr Longfellow returned to his native country, and two years afterwards married. In 1835 he succeeded Mr. George Ticknor as Professor of *Belles Lettres* in Harvard College, and the same year he paid a second visit to Europe; Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Germany, the Tyrol and Switzerland were all visited in succession. During his stay at Rotterdam, Mr. Longfellow had the misfortune to lose his wife, and this event invested "the ancient city with an undying interest in his memory." Some years later he visited Europe for a third time, and in 1843 he again married. In 1854 he retired from his professorship in Harvard College—which he had held for twenty years—in order to devote himself exclusively to literary pursuits. For upwards of forty years he has occupied the Craigie House, Cambridge, the head-quarters of General Washington after the battle of Bunker's Hill. The history of Craigie House (which has been the residence of many distinguished Americans) is agreeably narrated in the "Homes of American Authors," by Mr. G. W. Curtis.

The mere mention of the works of this author would occupy a considerable space. Very early in life we find him a contributor to the *North American Review*, and two of his papers in that well-known periodical, entitled respectively "An Essay on Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesy," and the "Moral and Devotional Poetry of Spain," attracted great attention. But original poetical composition also early engaged his attention, and before the age of eighteen he had written "Woods in Winter," "An April Day," and other popular short pieces. Alike in matter and style, these poems must be pronounced remarkable, as the production of a mere youth. One who was no mean

poet himself, wrote of Longfellow in 1840: "The poetry of Mr. Longfellow is marked by a very vivid imagination; great susceptibility to the impressions of natural scenery, and a ready perception of the analogies between natural objects and the feelings of the human heart. But, besides this, he possesses an extraordinary command over the powers of language, and turns it into any form at will—

'Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony'"

Mr. Longfellow's "Outre Mer: a Pilgrimage beyond the Sea," the first of his prose works, appeared in 1835, and was followed two years later by "Hyperion, a Romance." So popular was the latter work that fifteen thousand copies of it were sold in twenty years. An English critic, the late George Gilfillan, interpreted the general feeling in regard to this work when he described its charm as lying "partly in the 'excelsior' progress of the hero's mind, partly in the sketches of the great German authors, and principally in the sparkling imagery, and waving billowy language of the book. Longfellow in this work is Jean Paul Richter, without his grotesque extravagancies, or riotous humour, or turbulent force." It was undoubtedly a most successful effort in romantic fiction. "The Voices of the Night," a series of poems containing some of the most pathetic utterrances of the poet, were published in a collected form in 1839. Who has not been moved by the solemnity which pervades the "Hymn to the Night," "The Reaper and the Flowers," "The Light of Stars," "Footsteps of Angels," and "The Midnight Mass for the Dying Year?" In all these poems the author directly appealed to the human heart, and awoke in it responsive chords. The sale of this and other works appears almost fabulous. In 1857, that is, only eighteen years after the first publication of the "Voices of the Night," forty-three thousand copies had been disposed of, and it is not too much to assume that since that time the number of copies has been doubled.

In 1841 Mr. Longfellow published his "Ballads and other Poems," a collection including those favourite lyrics "The Village Blacksmith," "The Skeleton in Armour," and "The Wreck of the Hesperus." Edgar Allan Poe, with a personality to be regretted as coming from a brother poet, attacked this volume on the ground that the writer regarded the inculcation of a moral as essential. The highest morality is taught by the greatest poets, and it is somewhat extraordinary to find this objected to. To the *manner* of teaching morality objection may frequently fairly be taken, but this is another matter. The same critic adversely reviewed the "Poems on Slavery" and "The Spanish Student," alleging that "a man of genius has no business with these hybrid and paradoxical compositions." Poe, however, stood alone; Mr. Whipple representing the popular sentiment when he observed that in "The Spanish Student," Mr. Longfellow most strikingly manifested the affluence of his imagination in images of grace, grandeur, and beauty. "None of his other pieces so well illustrate all his poetical qualities—his imagination, his fancy, his sentiment, and his manner. It seems to comprehend the whole extent of his 'genius.'" In 1845 appeared "The Belfry of Bruges, and other Poems," and in 1847, "Evangeline, a Tale of Acadie." This picture of life in primitive Nova Scotia is charged with tenderness, and distinguished for the intensity of its local colouring The historical incidents upon which this beautiful legendary poem are founded are now matter of almost universal knowledge The inhabitants of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, having been suspected of giving assistance to the French (their ancestors) by the British Government, were exiled from their homes under circumstances of great hardship, and distributed over other English colonies. Out of the sufferings of some of these expatriated people the poet has woven a touching narrative, interspersed with passages of exquisite description of natural scenery. The story of Gabriel and Evangeline, with its tragic ending, is told with genuine pathos, and the poem remains

one of the best monuments of its author's genius. A distinguished English painter, Mr. T Faed, R.A., gave an admirable representation of Evangeline, and Mr Longfellow in acknowledging the excellence of the picture, wrote:—"I am delighted with the work, both in conception and execution, and have written to Mr. Faed to express my acknowledgment for this mark of his consideration, and my appreciation of the very great beauty and feeling of his illustration."

After the publication of "Kavanagh," a story of New England life, Mr Longfellow devoted a considerable portion of his learned leisure to the compilation of "The Poets and Poetry of Europe," embracing biographical notices and translations from the earliest period to the present time. No fewer than three hundred and sixty authors are laid under contribution in this work, and Mr. Longfellow—whose linguistic powers are well known—has himself translated poems from the Anglo-Saxon, Swedish, Dutch, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. In 1855 was published "The Song of Hiawatha," a poem which has enjoyed an almost unprecedented run of popularity. It is not unworthy of the designation which has been claimed for it of an Indian Edda. In indicating its origin, the author states that it is founded on a tradition prevalent among the North American Indians, of a personage of miraculous birth, who was sent among them to clear their rivers, forests, and fishing grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace. He was known among different tribes by the several names of Michaboa, Chiabo, Manabozo, Tarenyawagon, and Hiawatha. Into the old tradition were woven other curious Indian legends. The scene of the poem is among the Ojibways, on the southern shore of Lake Superior in the region between the Pictured Rocks and the Grand Gable. Within a month after the publication of this poem ten thousand copies had been sold, and in two years and a half the number had risen to fifty thousand—figures to which we can offer no parallel in the sale of works by our English poets. "Hiawatha" exhibits much picturesque grandeur in its descriptions of river and mountain scenery. A charge was made against the writer that in its production he had borrowed "the form, spirit, and many of the most striking incidents of Kalevala"—the great national epic of the Finns—but the groundlessness of this allegation was conclusively proved. The English and American critical journals vied with each other in commending the striking poetic merits of this production, and by many persons on both sides of the Atlantic it was regarded as the poet's most original work. Not long after its issue, the poem could be readily procured in London, Paris, Rome, Vienna, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Brussels, Basle, Turin, Trieste, Venice, and Verona. Mr. Bright, in a speech at Manchester, after making some references to Mr. Tennyson's war lyrics, said: "I have had the opportunity lately of reading a poem from another country, written by the American poet Longfellow—a poem which treats of the legends of the Indian tribes—and, while I have turned from the poem of our poet Laureate ('Maud'), in which I find him descending to slang of almost the grossest character, I turn with delight to the exquisite poem which has come to us from the other side of the Atlantic." Another eminent man, superior as a critic to Mr. Bright, viz., Cardinal Wiseman, also confessed his high admiration for this poem.

Another narrative poem by Mr. Longfellow which acquired great popularity, was "The Courtship of Miles Standish," published in 1858. Written in the hexameter measure, it is concerned, like others of its predecessors, with American history, in the "long-ago." Miles Standish is a fine, stalwart soldier, but while he gives the title to the work, the main interest centres in the history of the Puritan maiden, Priscilla. Though the strong warrior is not afraid of the perils of the field, he quails before a personal courtship of the modest and beautiful Priscilla.

He accordingly woos by proxy, but with disastrous results. Sending as his representative, John Alden, a handsome, attractive youth, the latter wins the maiden's heart ere he is aware of the fact, but Priscilla archly reveals the state of her own feelings by the question, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" He improves his opportunities accordingly, and Standish afterwards puts the best and most graceful face upon the affair that he can. In all probability this story would have been more popular still but for its setting. Both this and other works of the poet have been admirably illustrated by English artists. In 1861 Mr. Longfellow again appeared as an author with "The Tales of a Wayside Inn," a volume which "connects the nature of the New World with the pathetic romances and stirring Northern legends of the Old." Some of these tales are exceedingly quaint, and all are tinged with a spirit at once elevated and practical. The "New England Tragedies," issued in 1868, consist of two dramas, entitled "John Endicott," a tale of the persecution of the Quakers, 1665; and "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms," a tale of the witchcraft times, 1692. These tragedies excellently reflect the manners and spirit of the old Puritan days. They were succeeded in 1870 by "The Divine Tragedy," a volume consisting of the leading passages of the life of Christ, pictured as a dramatic poem—in effect, a poetic version of the chief events of the Gospel, arranged in the order of time. Not long afterwards came "Christus: a Mystery." Three dramatic poems, hitherto detached, were now grouped into a unity of poetic effort, in the following order—Part I. "The Divine Tragedy;" Part II. "The Golden Legend;" Part III. "New England Tragedies." Prologues and interludes furnished the connecting links between these poems, and the author added a concluding section, wherein he epitomised the teachings of the whole. Mr. Bayard Taylor, in reviewing this volume, observed that "the publication of the 'Divine Tragedy' marks the most important period of the life of its illustrious author, and thus becomes an event of special significance in American literature. The theme, so old and so often attempted, is in itself almost a challenge. As no sect can specially claim, so none can reject, the Christ he has transferred from the Gospels. What Mr. Longfellow has *not* done in the work is even a more striking evidence of his genius than what he has done."

In 1872, "Three Books of Song" appeared. The first part of this work consisted of a second series of the "Tales of a Wayside Inn." Again the legends are distinguished for their high moral purpose. The second book is the drama of "Judas Maccabæus," which deals with the struggle of the Jews for the religious independence of their nation. Part third consists of translations from the Persian, French, German, and Italian. "The Hanging of the Crane" was published in 1874, succeeding a volume of miscellaneous poems entitled "Aftermath;" the "Masque of Pandora" was published in 1875, also a graceful poem, "Morituri Salutamus," written for the fiftieth anniversary of the class of 1825 in Bowdoin College, and forming a touching remembrance of departed days; and "Kéramos" appeared in 1878.

We have already referred to the popularity of Mr. Longfellow's works, but it may now be stated that up to the year 1857, the American editions alone reached a sale of three hundred and twenty-five thousand copies. Since that time the sale in the United States, taking a most moderate computation, must have touched at least half a million of copies, and if we include the sale in England, and the Colonies as well, we should have, no doubt, a total number of upwards of one million copies of the works of this one poet in circulation. Amongst modern writers, only Dickens, in fiction, can equal the favour with which he is regarded.

Mr. Longfellow is the Psalmist amongst modern poets, and the union of so much music with sweetness, strength, and simplicity, has rarely been witnessed. He is the poet of the

poor and the illiterate as well as of the learned and the wealthy. His language is of the clearest, and there is probably not one passage in his works which cannot be readily understood by the most casual reader, even if his allusions cannot always be traced. The reason why he has such a hold upon mankind must be sought for chiefly in his earnestness, and in his faith in man and the Divine. His poetry is soothing and elevating, and no one can lay down his books without feeling that the writer has done something towards alleviating the burden of humanity. As one who best understood him remarked —"The secret of his popularity as a poet is probably that of all similar popularity—viz., the fact that his poetry expresses a universal sentiment in the simplest and most melodious manner. Each of his most noted poems is the issue of a feeling common to every mind in moods into which every mind is liable to fall. Thus, 'A Psalm of Life,' 'Footsteps of Angels,' 'To the River Charles,' 'Excelsior,' 'The Bridge,' 'The Gleam of Sunshine,' 'The Day is Done,' 'The Old Clock on the Stairs,' 'The Arrow and the Song,' 'The Fire of Driftwood,' 'Twilight,' 'The Open Window,' are all most adequate and inexpressibly delicate renderings of quite universal emotions. There is a humanity in them which is irresistible in the fit measures to which they are wedded. If some elegiac poets have strung rosaries of tears, there is a weakness of woe in their verses which repels; but the quiet, pensive thought—the twilight of the mind, in which the little facts of life are saddened in their relation to the eternal laws, time and change—this is the meditation and mourning of every manly heart, and this is the alluring and permanent charm of Longfellow's poetry." Into every part of the habitable globe Longfellow's lyrics have penetrated. The spirit which permeates them all is excellent and pure, and calculated to lift humanity out of its misery and degradation. They bear the message of hope for the whole human race.

That singular peculiarity of his mind by which he is able to assimilate alike the lessons of the past and the present has been well defined by a living critic. "It is at once his aid and his merit," says this writer, "that he can reproduce the choice pictures of the past and of other minds with new accessories of his own, so that the quaint old poets of Germany, the singers of the past centuries, the poetical vision and earnest teachings of Goethe, and the every-day humours of Jean Paul, as it were, come to live among us in American homes and landscape. This interpretation in its highest form is one of the rarest benefits which the scholar can bestow upon his country. The genius of Longfellow has given us an American idyl, based on a touching episode of ante-revolutionary history, parallel with the 'Hermann and Dorothea' of Goethe; in the exquisite story of 'Evangeline' has shown us how Richter might have surveyed the higher and inferior conditions—the schoolmaster, the clergyman, the lovers, and the rustics of a New England village in his tale of 'Kavanagh;' has reproduced the simple elegance of the lighter Spanish drama in his play of 'The Students;' and in his 'Golden Legend' has carried us, in his ingenious verse, to the heart of the Middle Ages, showing us the most poetic aspects of the lives of scholars, churchmen, and villagers; how they sang, travelled, practised logic, medicine, and divinity, and with what miracle-plays, jest, and grim literature they were entertained. His originality and peculiar merit consist in these felicitous transformations. If he were simply a scholar, he would be but an annalist, or an annotater, but being a poet of taste and imagination, with an ardent sympathy for all good and refined traits in the world, and for all forms of this objective life of others, his writings being the very emanations of kind, generous nature, he has succeeded in reaching the heart of the public. All men rela art and literature when they are free from pedantry. We are all pleased with pictures, like to be charmed with thinking nobly and acting well by the delights of fancy."

criticism, nevertheless, admirable and searching as it is, still leaves something to be desired in estimating Longfellow's influence. Many poets have shown similar qualities to those enumerated, but they have failed to acquire a permanent hold upon men. We must go deeper, and come to the moral force, amongst other qualities, so conspicuous in Longfellow. We see him take the deeper, softer emotions of the human heart, and play upon them at will. In such poems as "Resignation" he touches the pathetic chord, and few have shown an equal mastery over the "music of sorrow." He teaches us that the lessons of death are full of a hidden meaning instinct with hope, and demonstrates that it is the office of the poet to bring these lessons forth, and set them strongly in the light on behalf of his fellows. He is, moreover, the foe of war, as his noble verses on the "Arsenal at Springfield" testify. He anticipates the time when the world shall be lapped in peace, and when

"Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease,
And, like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say 'Peace!'

"Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of war's great organ shakes the skies;
But, beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise."

He is also a patriot, as witness the lyric, "The Building of the Ship." But not confining himself to an affectionate regard for his own country, his sympathies are cosmopolitan; and his Christianity and his natural sentiments alike revolt from the practice of slavery. Longfellow laboured energetically with Channing and others to sweep away the nefarious traffic in human lives. His poems upon slavery are full of moral indignation, and gleam with the electric current of sympathy with the oppressed. Perceiving the danger of the traffic to the Commonwealth, he compared the poor, despised slave with Samson, who might one day rise and avenge himself upon his enemies by pulling down the pillars of the State. The champions of human freedom have fortunately lived to see the curse of slavery removed from the States.

Longfellow is successful in three kinds of poetic effort—the descriptive, the dramatic, and the lyrical. Facile in depicting the moods of Nature, he has also considerable power in the delineation of human passion. This will have been gathered from what we have already remarked in mentioning his various works in their chronological order. The dramatic faculty, however, is not so strong in him as the lyrical. A comparison between "The Spanish Student" and such stirring lyrics as "Victor Galbraith" will clearly show this. He is emphatically a poet of the people, and, as one writer has remarked, there is no greater lack in English literature than that of such a poet—"one who shall be to the labouring classes of England what Goethe is to the peasant of Germany. He was a true philosopher who said, 'Let me make the songs of a Nation and I care not who makes its laws' There is one writer who approaches nearer than any other to this standard; and he has already gained such a hold on our hearts that it is almost unnecessary for me to mention his name. Our hemisphere cannot claim the honour of having brought him forth; but still he belongs to us, for his works have become as household words wherever the English language is spoken. And, whether we are charmed by his imagery, or soothed by his melodious versification, or elevated by the high moral teachings of his pure muse, or follow with sympathising hearts the wanderings of 'Evangeline,' I am sure that

all who hear my voice will join with me in the tribute I desire to pay to the genius of Longfellow." In our admiration for his original poems, we must not omit to mention the many masterly translations which Mr. Longfellow has executed. His first published work was a translation of Don Jorge Manrique's fine ode on the death of his father. His latest is an admirable selection, entitled "Poems of Places." The two volumes devoted to England and Wales take a very wide range, and form as pleasant reading as can well-nigh be conceived Mr. Longfellow states that this collection has been made partly for the pleasure of making it, and partly for the pleasure he hopes it may give to those who shall read its pages. "It is the voice of the poets expressing their delight in the scenes of nature, and, like the song of the birds, surrounding the earth with music For myself, I confess that these poems have an indescribable charm, as showing how the affections of men have gone forth to their favourite haunts, and consecrated them for ever." The collection teems with descriptions of the natural beauties of the mother country.

The editions of his works are multiform, and we could not pretend even to enumerate them. They have followed each other in quick succession, both in England and America. An edition is now in course of issue which promises to give a worthy artistic setting to poems enjoying a world-wide celebrity. Many of Mr. Longfellow's works have been translated into continental languages. Mr. J. T. Fields, an intimate friend of the poet, furnishes some interesting details respecting his methods of composition. The famous lyric, "Excelsior," was written late one autumn evening, in 1841, when the word happened to catch his eye upon a torn piece of newspaper. Longfellow's imagination was at once kindled; he seized the first scrap of paper at hand, and immediately penned the stanzas which have since become "familiar in our mouths as household words." The "Psalm of Life" sprang into being one bright summer morning in Cambridge, as the writer sat between two windows at the small table in the corner of his chamber. Several of his poems were composed at one sitting, and in a brief period, his inspiration coming not by single lines but by whole stanzas. That powerful ballad, "The Wreck of the Hesperus," was written during one night after a very violent storm, and the clock was striking three as he finished the last stanza. His writings have not been the productions of protracted labour. It may be mentioned here that a short time ago the "spreading chestnut tree," immortalised in the "Village Blacksmith," was cut down, and that the children of Cambridge subscribed to have an arm-chair made from it, which in due course was presented to Mr. Longfellow. He returned his thanks for the well-timed present in a beautiful and touching poem.

It has sometimes been objected that in the higher range of original thought America is still far behind England. In many respects this is no doubt true, for the intellectual life of a nation can no more be forced that can its social growth. But just as America possesses physical treasures as yet unexplored and unconceived, so also she has slumbering intellectual forces, which must one day give her high rank amongst the nations of the world Even now she may be said to have removed much of the charge of deficiency and barrenness as regards her poetic genius; for a people is certainly entitled to honour and respect in this regard which has produced such contemporary singers as Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell. We have in these names almost every quality of poetic thought represented, and represented with a very considerable amount of force, strength, and originality.

Some years ago Mr. Longfellow had the misfortune to lose his second wife by a very painful death. A muslin dress which she was wearing having accidentally caught fire, the flames could not be extinguished until she had sustained fatal injuries. Universal sympathy was manifested with Mr. Longfellow in his affliction. The poet has a family of three sons and two daughters.

One of his sons, Mr. Ernest Longfellow, who is an artist of repute, has recently made the tour of Europe.

Ten years ago Mr Longfellow once more visited England, when the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford. This was in July, 1869, and a few years later he was elected a member of the Russian Academy of Science. In 1874 he was nominated to the Lord Rectorship of the University of Edinburgh, and although he was defeated by Mr. Disraeli, the large number of votes he received attested his popularity in the Modern Athens It is stated that Mr. Longfellow, in his personal appearance, frank, graceful manners, fortune, and mode of life, reflects or anticipates the elegance of his writings. "In a home surrounded by every refinement of art and cultivated intercourse, in the midst of his family and friends," he enjoys a retired leisure. He is, however, most accessible to visitors, and numerous anecdotes are recorded of his kindness and hospitality. In religion he is a Unitarian, but he delights in a high liturgical form of worship. As may be gathered from his writings, he is a passionate admirer of art, and of the beautiful in every shape.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]



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WHEN the Treaty of Paris had been concluded by the plenipotentiaries of the great Powers, in March, 1856, Europe was naturally led to expect that both Russia and Turkey had learned a lesson which neither was likely to forget. France had entered upon the Crimean War mainly for the purpose of gaining Napoleon III. an established position in the country whose liberties he had crushed, and a respectable connection with more solid states of Europe. Napoleon attained his object, and his army gained much distinction. Sardinia also gained in respectability by the Crimean War. Turkey gained a new lease of a bad life, and England, as a set-off to the loss of twenty-two thousand soldiers and fifty millions of money, gained an extensive knowledge of Eastern geography. A successful siege, a brilliant charge, and a few hotly-contested battles, manifested once more that courage which has never been denied to the British soldier, and England, after a decent period of mourning for her brave sons, dried her eyes, paid her debts, and proceeded to set her house in order Turkey, the cause of all this loss and bloodshed, although supported in her attempted reforms by strong and wealthy neighbours—from motives which were anything but disinterested—proved herself utterly incapable of making any progress, except from bad to worse. In this direction she advanced with accuracy and with the rapidity of geometrical progression. Her glaring iniquities in the administration of her own empire would probably have passed without much comment for many years to come, but in an evil moment she managed to combine the massacre of her subjects in Bulgaria with the repudiation of her debt to England. Very shortly after the holders of Turkish bonds had discovered that those bonds were not as valuable as could be desired, energetic correspondents for English newspapers discovered, and doubtless amplified, all the disgusting details of Turkish brutality. The atrocities in Bulgaria led to another invasion of the Turkish dominions by the great Northern Power, and in developing our sketch of the illustrious personage who was appointed leader of the European army of invasion, it is necessary to recapitulate the events which led to the war of 1877—8.

An insurrection in the Turkish tributary states of Herzegovina and Bosnia assumed serious proportions in July, 1875, and led, in the following month, to a Consular Commission, appointed by the great Powers, to inquire into the causes of the disturbance. Turkey was profuse in the admission of her shortcomings and in promises of reform The revolted provinces were much too familiar with such shortcomings and promises to attach any importance to the latter, and the Governments of Austria, Germany, and Russia, agreed in declaring that the internal disorder of Turkey formed a permanent source of danger to Europe. The deliberations of those Powers led to the preparation of a letter to the Porte—afterwards well known as the Andrassy Note, in which the reforms rendered necessary by the condition of European Turkey were set forth in full. The principal demands made in this document were the establishment of complete religious liberty, the abolition of the system of farming the taxes, the granting of facilities to Christian agriculturists to acquire

land, the application of direct taxes to local purposes, the indirect taxes going, as before, into the imperial exchequer, and the appointment of a mixed commission of Mussulmans and Christians to ensure the execution of these reforms. This Note, to which the assent of the English Government had been given, was presented to the Porte in January, 1876, and in February a Circular Note was issued by the Turkish Government to the Powers, agreeing to all the demands, except that which limited the application of the direct taxes. Such promises of the Porte, unguaranteed by other Powers, failed to satisfy the rebels, who were supported by the accession to their ranks of large bodies of armed men from Servia and Montenegro. At the beginning of May Germany and Russia were taking counsel upon the necessary measures to be enforced for the pacification of the revolted provinces, when news arrived of the murder at Salonika of the French and German consuls. Sir Henry Elliot, our ambassador at Constantinople, telegraphed to the English Government, urging that the British fleet be sent at once to Besika Bay for protection of the Christian inhabitants.

On the 13th of May, Prince Bismarck, Count Andrassy, and Prince Gortschakoff, drew up at Berlin a statement of affairs in Turkey, since known as the Berlin Memorandum. The Governments signing this Memorandum pledged themselves to urge upon the Sultan the immediate necessity of carrying out the reforms embodied in the Andrassy Note. They demanded a suspension of hostilities for two months, and finished by declaring that if the armistice failed to procure peace, more vigorous measures should be taken to prevent the war which seemed impending. Italy and France signed the Memorandum. Lord Derby, on the part of the English Government, declined to become a party to the agreement. The assenting Powers proceeded to present the Memorandum at Constantinople, but before all arrangements for so doing had been concluded, the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, had been dethroned, and this new effort of diplomacy was defeated. Just at this time matters were complicated by the outbreak, in Bulgaria, of those "horrors" with which English readers have supped so full. Lord Derby wrote to Sir Henry Elliott that "the outrages and excesses committed by the Turkish troops in Bulgaria had aroused a universal feeling of indignation in all classes of English society, and that in the extreme case of Russia declaring war against Turkey, Her Majesty's Government would find it practically impossible to interfere in defence of the Ottoman Empire." Protest followed protest, with no avail. At the beginning of July Servia commenced hostilities against Turkey, but by the end of August was compelled to seek the assistance and mediation of Europe. To the representations made by the great Powers in favour of an armistice, Turkey paid no attention, but proposed conditions of peace which were quite inadmissible. Diplomatic negotiations were continued with little success. Turkey contemptuously rejected all attempts to interfere with her jurisdiction, until the Czar, finding that peace was unattainable by diplomacy, issued a war manifesto on the 24th of April. On the very day upon which this manifesto was issued one Russian army crossed the frontier in Asia, and another force crossed the European frontier into Roumania. Two distinct campaigns, therefore, were being carried on simultaneously. With the army in Asia, under command of the Grand Duke Michael, our story is not connected, and we may dismiss that part of the subject by stating that upon the fall of Kars and Erzeroum the Asiatic campaign had exhausted itself.

From the foregoing statement it may be perceived that Russia offered to her adversary every possible opportunity for an amicable arrangement before resorting to extreme measures. The minds of noisy classes in England had become terrified at the bold attitude of Russia, which, coupled with "British interests," afforded ample ground for terror to people who regarded each Russian as an all-devouring demon. But upon attempting to grasp the *raison d'être*

of the war which has just been finished, many persons, who had previously entertained hostile feelings towards Russia, having carefully studied the development of her history, and having learned to disassociate the country of Peter and of Catherine from that of Alexander II., have been driven to the conclusion that the average Russian is not a demon. In no country are the inhabitants imbued naturally with less of the military spirit, they are prone to lying, thieving, and strong drink, they are superstitious, mysterious, and excitable, they possess most of the vices of a subject race; but the true cold blooded spirit of the conqueror is rare, and crimes of violence which are the complement of military ardour are rarer still. As frequently happens in connection with the vices we have mentioned, there exists a strong sentiment of family relationship, of clanship, and of patriotism. A distinguished English statesman has remarked of the patriotic sentiment in Russia, that "it is not as in France or England, associated with a consciousness of superiority in arts, arms, or civilisation; or, as in the United States, with the triumph of their political institutions; but, like the patriotism of the ancient Jews, it is blended with a spiritual pride founded on the belief that Russia is the favoured depository of the orthodox religious faith. I have been present at a great public banquet, where the health of the Czar was drunk with enthusiasm, but when the succeeding toast of 'Prosperity to Russia' was given, it was received with reiterated cheering This attachment to country is not, however, exclusively founded on a religious sentiment. The Russian possesses, in an eminent degree, the organ to which phrenologists have given the name of 'inhabitiveness' He is passionately wedded to his village home, and Russia has been described as a great village. Nay, more, this people, whom Western Europe regards with terror as a horde of imprisoned barbarians, dissatisfied with their fate, and eager to escape from their rigorous climate and ungrateful soil, to pour the tide of conquest over more favoured and civilised regions, are, beyond any others, proud of their own country; they love its winter as well as summer life, and would not willingly exchange it for any other land. This characteristic of the Russian people is referred to by Custine, who gives us some specimens of letters, written by Russian servants, travelling with their masters in Western Europe, to their friends at home, in which they complain of the humidity of the winter season, and long for the day when they shall inhale again the invigorating air of their own country and glide over its dry and hardened snow. There is no greater delusion in the world than that which attributes to the Russian people a desire to overrun and occupy, in the spirit of the ancient Goths and Huns, any part of Western Europe. In discussing this subject with an intelligent native, at Moscow, he wound up an argument to prove that the Russian people would not exchange their country for any in the world with this remark: 'Should some new El Dorado be discovered, to which all the population of the earth could be invited to migrate, there would be fewer volunteers found to abandon their homes in Russia than in any other part of Europe.'" When people such as those described in the extracts we have given are told of the cold-blooded massacre of brother Christians in Bulgaria; when they are told that in the fairest region of Europe, once the patrimony of the Greek Church, millions of Christians, who are groaning under Turkish despotism, look to them for succour and pray for the success of their arms, it is easy to understand the transformation of a careless, superstitious villager into a practical devotee and a fearless crusader. We are compelled to believe that the Russian army crossed the frontier on the 24th of April, 1877, actuated by exactly the same feelings which influenced other European hordes eight hundred years previously, when a gallant Frenchman, named Peter the Hermit, called attention to Saracen atrocities and the desecrated graveyards of Jerusalem.

The Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaivich, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of

the Army of the Danube, was born July 27th, 1831. He is the third son of the late Czar Nicholas I., and brother of the present Emperor of Russia. From his childhood his principal education has been of an almost purely military character, with the result as stated by a military critic of the late war, that the "Grand Duke whether planning a campaign, or ordering a single regiment to position, is the most practical soldier of all the soldier-members of the great imperial house." His serious, dignified bearing through all the reverses and successes of his campaign, gained the confidence and ultimately the affection of his soldiers. The war correspondent of a London paper has told us that whilst staying at a hotel in Bucharest, the Grand Duke dined at the *table-d'hôte*, moved about amongst strangers and soldiers with a complete absence of pretension, and was remarkable in no way beyond ordinary people, except in the reticence and seriousness of a man upon whom depends chiefly the fate of 300,000 of his fellows. His previous experience of warfare had not been great, prolonged and detailed though his education for it had been. In company with his brother, the Grand Duke Michael, and Prince Menschikoff, he had been under fire at Inkermann, though not actually engaged in the conflict; for their "coolness" upon this occasion both young princes were decorated by their father. The Grand Duke Nicholas had spent a few days in Sebastopol in 1855, when under the skill of Todleben that fortress seemed impregnable; he then became attached for two years to the army of the Caucasus, and, in the capacity of general staff officer, was present at several skirmishes. When he was nominated inspector-general of engineers and commander-in-chief of all the army, he appointed General Todleben his second in command. His army on the Danube, in May 1877, consisted of nine army corps, containing, on paper, 310,000 men, 55,806 horses and 972 guns, but as most of the regiments fell much short of their full strength, the numbers have been differently computed, and, including the 72,000 irregular Roumanian troops under command of Prince Charles, it has been doubted whether the whole actual force amounted to more than 200,000 at the passage of the Danube. Mr Forbes, correspondent of the *Daily News*, says that there were not 170,000 Russians in Turkey at the end of June. The Turkish army, nominally composed of 247,000 men, was scattered in fortified towns over a frontier of 500 miles. Fully two months were spent in preparing for the passage of the Danube, a process rendered extremely difficult by natural causes, and rendered more difficult by Russian bureaucracy. As in all countries where class privileges are strongly marked, there prevails in Russia a powerful and idle faction which is ready to avail itself of every opportunity for exciting warlike propensities, and whose members, after a life of court intrigue or provincial lethargy, seek upon the battle-field an easy outlet for superfluous energy. Men of this exclusive caste and military temperament, without military capacity, naturally did their utmost to appropriate all leading positions of the executive. Tumult, dissatisfaction, incompetence, and delay, were necessary consequences, and it was not until the 21st of June that the Russian army succeeded in crossing the Danube. The crossing was effected at four points simultaneously, Galatz, Brahilov, Hirsova, and Sistova. Upon the entry of the Russian army into Bulgaria, the Czar addressed proclamations to the inhabitants in which he assured "the Christian people of the Balkan Peninsula in general, and the Bulgarians in particular, of his solicitude for the amelioration of their lot;" he added, "My army will secure to the Bulgarians the sacred rights of their nationality; all races and all denominations shall be equally treated, and order shall be enforced." To the Mussulmans he said: "Your existence and your property, the lives and honour of your families shall be sacred with us as those of the Christians, but regular and impartial justice will overtake those

criminals who have remained unpunished, despite the fact that their names are well known to the Government." He also intimated clearly in each of his addresses the brighter prospects of a new Bulgaria, under the protecting influence of the Northern Power with which Nature had allied her by ties of race and of religion. "As our troops advance into the interior of your country, the power of the Turk will be replaced by regular organisations, the native inhabitants will be summoned to take part therein, under supreme direction of specially appointed authorities." The Bulgarians received the Russian troops as brothers, and a series of successes, which followed upon the passage of the Danube, seemed to promise one triumphal procession to Constantinople. But the procession though ultimately triumphant, was seriously and frequently impeded.

The capture of Tirnova was the second notable event of the campaign. Tirnova, the capital of the ancient Bulgarian kingdom, is situated in the centre of the modern Danube Principality, and is built upon the Jantra river, which forms a branch of the Danube. It is forty miles from Sistova on the Danube, and thirty from the entrance to the Balkans. On July 7th General Gourko, commanding an advance guard of the Russian army, took possession of the town with a squadron of his guards and a force of about 200 Cossacks A much stronger force of the enemy, occupying admirable strongholds in the mountains adjoining, retreated rapidly before the small body of Russian cavalry. Tirnova being an unfortified town was of no strategical importance except as a basis of operation for the crossing of the Balkans, it became the head-quarters of the Russian army, and Prince Tscherkassi was appointed as the head of the new civil administration of Bulgaria. The march of the Grand Duke Nicholas from Sistova to Tirnova has been celebrated in the fine description written by a war correspondent. On entering the town on the 12th July, "everywhere," writes the correspondent, "the people came out to meet us, offering bread and salt and the most friendly greetings, while the women and girls offered fruit and pelted us with flowers Processions headed by priests came out singing to meet us, with pictures from the churches, standards, and banners; at intervals the priests chanted prayers in the old Sclavonic tongue amidst the responses of an immense crowd." Great however as had been the success at Tirnova, the taking of Nicopolis, a fortified town upon the Danube, by General Krudener was a much more important military event This town was carried by assault on July 16th, after severe fighting Six thousand Turkish soldiers, with guns and munition of war, fell to the Russians, and the possession of Nicopolis afforded the command of a good portion of the Danube, which was thereby rendered capable of being kept open for communications. Mysterious movements of the Grand Duke attracted some attention at this period; he was missed by the army from time to time, and rumours floated of reverses experienced or impending. Whatever meaning the mysteries or rumours possessed, it was quite true that disasters were impending, and Plevna, with the Schipka Pass, blocked up the passage to the south. Plevna, a Bulgarian town about twenty miles south of the Danube, was held by Osman Pacha. Reinforcements which had arrived too late for Nicopolis were utilised at Plevna, and it became evident that the Turks were here determined upon making a stand. As Plevna was a place of considerable importance to the Russians, orders were given that it should be occupied. Accordingly a brigade of infantry from Nicopolis, under the command of General Schildner-Schuldner, was sent upon this service. The attempt was a complete failure, as the attackers were decoyed into a trap, and almost cut to pieces. A second battle of Plevna was fought on the 31st of July. The result of this disastrous conflict was that the Russians were completely defeated after a loss of 8,000 killed, and as many wounded. South of the Balkans,

also, the hitherto victorious army was beginning to experience reverse of fortune. Suleiman Pacha having defeated General Gourko's force, and driven the Russian troops back to the mountains, assailed the Russian fortified positions in the Schipka pass. Hereupon followed a series of conflicts unparalleled in the campaign. The Russian garrison consisted only of the Bulgarian legion, and a regiment of the 9th division, in all about 5,000 men, with 10 cannon. The attack commenced on August 21st. Reinforcements, slowly arriving in scattered and exhausted divisions, were unable to do more than delay defeat for about a day, when suddenly General Radetzky, arriving with his forces, saved the Bulgarian and Russian troops. On September 3rd, the Russians, under Prince Meretinsky and General Skobeloff, succeeded in capturing Lofteha. Important as was the capture of Lofteha, the interest is now concentrated upon Plevna On the last day of August, Osman Pacha, with 25,000 men, had made a determined but unsuccessful attack upon the Russian centre; he lost 3,000 men, and was defeated and driven back by General Zotoff. At this famous siege was shown very fully the inefficiency of the Russian staff departments. The jealousy which prevailed amongst the Russian nobility of men who were distinguished for knowledge and capacity as distinct from social importance, prevented the services of the ablest engineers from being put in requisition, and it was not until the bungling efforts of a great number of incompetent men had been universally acknowledged that General Todleben was called upon. He proceeded at once to invest the place upon the most elaborate scientific principles His genius at the investment of Plevna was not less remarkably displayed than upon a former occasion it had been so strikingly manifested at the defence of Sebastopol. For nearly five months Plevna had defied the Russian armies, and upon three occasions, July 20th and 31st, and September 11th, threw back, with terrible slaughter, the attacking forces of the enemy. Early in December, owing to the vigilance of Todleben, Plevna was reduced to starvation point, and upon every side cut off from all chance of obtaining provisions. Osman Pacha summoned a council of war, and in his usual laconic manner, stated his case, and described his position It was determined to make one last desperate effort to break through the Russian lines in the only possible place, across the Vid. On the night of December 9th, he left Plevna with 32,000 men, 26,000 infantry, and 6,000 cavalry. He succeeded in breaking through the two first lines of investment, but by means of spies and traitors, the Russians had been forewarned of the attempt, and the gallant chieftain was compelled to surrender. All the incidents connected with Osman's capitulation have been described by an eyewitness, in a series of brilliant articles which must ever remain masterpieces of journalistic literature. The Russian commander-in-chief, surrounded by his staff, rode up within rifle-shot of the Turkish army immediately that the truce had been demanded. A delay ensued whilst messengers from Plevna arrived to treat for terms; but the messengers were sent back by the Grand Duke, and instructed to inform their leaders that some one of the rank of Pacha must submit conditions of capitulation. Suddenly two horsemen rode out at full speed, and wheeling up in front of the Grand Duke, exclaimed "Osman Pacha is wounded, but he is coming himself to treat with you" The Russian officers, who had closed up around their leader, were profoundly impressed with this intelligence, and exclaimed, "We must receive him with a most respectful salute!" After some little time a carriage drove slowly from Plevna containing two Turkish officers—the one with the shabby uniform and the majestic face was Osman Pacha. The Grand Duke rode forward to the carriage The two generals looked at each other in silence for some seconds, and as he held out his hand the Grand Duke said, "I compliment you on your defence of Plevna, it is one of the most splendid military feats in history!" Osman

smiled very sadly, but rising slowly, and evidently suffering much pain from his wound, bowed slightly towards the Russians. The Russian officers all cried "Bravo! bravo!" and saluted him as he prepared to retire "It is the face of a great military chieftain," said young Skobeloff; "I am glad to have seen him Osman Ghazi he is, and Osman the Victorious he will remain in spite of his surrender."

The fall of Kars in Asiatic Turkey having almost synchronised with the surrender of Osman Pacha's army marked the end of the campaign. Terms of an armistice submitted by Turkey early in January, were answered January 14th, by a conciliatory reply received at Constantinople. After some weeks of suspense throughout Europe, and of panic and distraction at Constantinople, where serious disturbances had broken out whilst the Grand Duke and the plenipotentiaries of the Porte were negotiating peace at Kezanlik, preliminaries of peace were at length signed at Adrianople, January 31st, 1878. Terms of peace comprised —Establishment of a principality of Bulgaria, payment of a war indemnity or a territorial compensation, independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, with an increase of territory for each principality, the introduction of reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina; an ulterior understanding between the Sultan and the Czar upon the question of the Straits, and, lastly, evacuation of the Danube fortresses by the Turks. Upon the signature of the armistice the Sultan and Czar exchanged telegrams expressing their mutual satisfaction at the termination of hostilities The Czar, however, intimated clearly the position which he had adopted and which he intended to maintain:— "I desire peace as much as yourself, but it is necessary for me, as it is necessary for us, that it should be a solid and an enduring peace." Constantinople put on her holiday attire, and St. Petersburg returned to her solemn revelry. After much misunderstanding and many symptoms of smouldering discontent, the treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was at length signed at San Stefano, upon Sunday, the 3rd of March, a fact which was announced to the Czar in a telegram from the Grand Duke Nicholas.—"I do myself the honour of congratulating your Majesty upon the conclusion of peace. God has vouchsafed to us the happiness of accomplishing the holy work begun by your Majesty, and on the anniversary of the enfranchisement of the serfs your Majesty has delivered the Christians from the Mussulman's yoke."

Parting, for the present, with the tumult and the slaughter, we take the liberty, in conclusion, of quoting from the description, given by an eyewitness, of San Stefano upon the occasion of the signature of peace. "Scarcely was it daylight, when, notwithstanding a storm, there was an unusual movement in the village. There was a general idea that peace was to be signed that day. The steamers from Constantinople came rolling along through the rough sea, overladen with excursionists attracted by the review which had been announced to take place in celebration of the anniversary of the Czar's accession to the throne. Greeks, Bulgarians, Turks, and Russians, crowded the little village, besieging the restaurants, swarming about the doors of houses whence were supposed to issue great personages who were to become famous in history, all impatiently awaiting the hour of two The horses of the Grand Duke and his staff were gathered about the entrance to his quarters, and keen-eyed spectators, ready to interpret the slightest movement of the commander-in-chief, formed unbroken ranks around the group of horses. At last, about four o'clock, the Grand Duke mounted, and rode to the diplomatic chancery, where he asked at the door: 'Is it ready?' and then galloped towards the hill where the army was drawn up. Here we halted for a few moments, wondering what would happen next. Finally a carriage came whirling out of the village towards us; General Ignatieff was



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in it, and when he approached he rose and said: 'I have the honour to congratulate your Highness on the signature of peace.' There was a long loud shout. Then the Grand Duke, followed by about a hundred officers, dashed forward to where the troops were formed, on rising ground close by the sea-coast just behind San Stefano lighthouse, and began riding along the lines. As he passed, the soldiers did not know that peace had been signed, as it was still unannounced; but soon the news spread, and the cheering grew louder and more enthusiastic. After riding between the lines, the Grand Duke halted on a little eminence, whence all the troops could be seen, and formally made the announcement of the peace—'I have the honour to inform the army, that, with the help of God, we have concluded a treaty of peace.' Then another shout burst forth from 20,000 throats, rising, swelling, and dying away. There was a general feeling of relief and satisfaction. There stood the men, whose courage, devotion, and unparalleled endurance will go down to history. And there gathered, scarcely more than a rifle-shot away, was the enemy they had found worthy of their steel, for on the crest of the neighbouring hill stood the Turks in groups, interested spectators of the scene. After the review, gathering his officers about him where the priest stood ready for the *Te Deum*, the Grand Duke spoke briefly and emphatically, saying: 'To an army which has accomplished what you have, my friends, nothing is impossible.' Then all dismounted, uncovered, and a solemn service was conducted, the soldiers all kneeling. A few ladies were present at the ceremony. Among others I noticed Madame Ignatieff, kneeling on a fur rug beside her carriage. The religious ceremony over, the Grand Duke took his stand, and the army began to file past with a swinging rapid stride, in forcible contrast to the weary pace with which they used to drag themselves slowly along at the end of that exhausting chase, scarcely able at times to put one foot before the other. The night was falling and darkness settled quickly over the scene. When we left the spot the Grand Duke was still sitting immovable on his horse, and the troops were still passing As we rode down into the village we could hear the joyful shouts still ringing in the air, and the measured tramp, tramp, going off in the darkness. So ends the war of 1877—8!"

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by M. Jacoby, Paris.*]

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

THE present Governor-General of Canada, Sir John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Marquis of Lorne, is the eldest son of the eighth Duke of Argyll, and was born at Stafford House, London, on the 6th of August, 1845 The Mac Callum Mores have an ancient and illustrious pedigree. No fewer than eight centuries ago, one Gillespick Campbell acquired, by marriage with an heiress, the lordship of Lochow, in Argyllshire, and from him sprang Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, who, from his distinguished achievements in war, obtained the designation of More, or Great. From his day until the present the chief of the house has been styled, in Gaelic, Mac Callum More. Sir Colin was knighted by Alexander III., in the year 1280, and was one of the nominees, eleven years later, on the part of Robert Bruce, in the contest for the crown of Scotland. He was eventually slain in an encounter with his neighbour, the Lord of Lorn, at the String of Cowal, where an imposing obelisk is erected over his grave. A series of feuds resulted between the houses of Lochow and Lorn, which at length ended in the marriage of the first Earl of Argyll with the heiress of Lorn. Such settlements of warlike feuds are common in fiction but rare in actual life. Sir Niel Campbell, the successor of Colin, joined Robert Bruce, and clung to his cause through evil and through good report. The battle of Bannockburn having decided the independence of Scotland, Sir Niel was one of the great barons in the Ayr Parliament, which met on the 26th of April, 1315, and fixed the succession to the Scottish crown. He married Lady Mary Bruce, the sister of the king. Following the fortunes of the family, we come to Sir Duncan Campbell, of Lochow, who assumed the designation of Argyll, and was raised to the dignity of a Lord of Parliament by James II. in 1445, by the title of Lord Campbell, having some years before been summoned to the Privy Council, and appointed the King's Justiciary, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Argyll. His lordship married the daughter of the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, and one of their sons became the ancestor of the present Earls of Breadalbane. Lord Campbell married, secondly, a granddaughter of Robert III. He was one of the hostages for the redemption of James I. in 1424, his annual revenue being larger than that of any other of the hostages.

Sir Duncan (Lord) Campbell was succeeded by his grandson, who was created Earl of Argyll in the year 1457. After filling many important posts, the Earl was eventually created Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. His lordship married the eldest daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord of Lorn. From this union arose the courtesy-title always borne by the eldest son of the chief of the race, viz., that of Lord Lorne. The second Earl of Argyll fell in the command of the vanguard at the battle of Flodden, fought on the 9th of September, 1513. The fourth Earl was the first person of importance in Scotland who embraced the Protestant religion, and he became (according to Burke) a strenuous advocate for the Reformation. The fifth Earl, Archibald, had a chequered and not undistinguished career. At the breaking out of

heroic measure. As a fair specimen of the author's powers we quote the following description of sunrise:—

"Though still the air, and chill—behold, behold,
The hues of saffron deepening into gold,
Save where a sapphire land on ocean's bed
Along the far horizon lies outspread,
The bearing surface takes the tints on high,
And wakes its pallor to a kindred dye;
A moment more, and from the dusky hill,
The vapours fall, the lower glens to fill;
Then fade from thence, in many a changing shape,
To clasp the feet of every jutting cape,
Till the tall cliffs' descent into the sea
Is merged in mist, that makes them seem to be
Raised like the prows of galleys, that of yore
Stretched their carved beaks above the surges' roar.
Another instant, and each doubtful shade
Melts and then vanishes, as though afraid
Of the great blaze, unbearable, the sun
Sends o'er the world, proclaiming day begun."

It will be admitted, we think, that there is a sensibility here to the impressions of outward nature that may fairly and legitimately be described as poetic. In 1877 the Marquis of Lorne published a third volume, entitled "The Book of Psalms, literally rendered in verse." This work was dedicated to the Scottish churches, and the reason for its publication is stated as follows: "Many of the words of the Authorised Version (written in 1630 by Rous), which might formerly have been considered as rhyming together, cannot, with modern pronunciation, be now held to do so, and, believing that the want of true rhyme is often not agreeable, it seems probable that there is room for a new version, which is therefore here attempted. The use of the actual words of the Bible is alone satisfactory to ears accustomed to Rous's Psalms, and I have sought in the case of Psalms translated into common metre, to adhere as closely as possible to the language of the original, while making each alternate line rhyme." It was a somewhat formidable undertaking to render in verse the most beautiful and poetic book in the Bible, but the old Scotch version was certainly capable of improvement. Probably all the ills which befell David would have been counted by the Jewish monarch as nothing compared with the metrical outrages to which the sweet singer of Israel has been subjected in every generation. But, as the Psalms must be sung, there is great justification for putting them into a form for singing. Many of the literary journals spoke in terms of high praise of Lord Lorne's version, the *Athenæum* pronouncing it, on the whole, to be the best rhymed Psalter we have. "If the noble author," observed one reviewer, "hoped to compose a metrical version of the Psalms which should supersede that of Rous in the use of the Scottish churches, the very first thing required of him was that it should be as like Rous's as possible, so endeared has the latter become to the people of Scotland; and the highest praise that we can give to the present Book of Psalms is that it is worthy to supersede Rous's version. Its language, while always simple, is never homely, but consistently refined and elevated throughout. Its rhymes are nearly always true, and the steady harmony of the metre never becomes rugged and absolutely unmusical, and the author has avoided those daring feats of literal translation so frequent in Rous, which in these days of less robust faith are apt to arouse an incongruous sense of the grotesque."

On the 21st of March, 1871, the Marquis of Lorne was married to the Princess Louise, fourth daughter of Her Majesty the Queen In the House of Commons, in the previous February, Mr. Gladstone proposed the usual grant. In doing so, the Premier said: "The character of the royal bride is known to some of us by personal intercourse, to others by the voice which rumour carries forth; and I do not think that rumour has ever carried forth, in any case recorded in our modern history, impressions more satisfactory or more delightful than those which have been conveyed to the popular mind with respect to the Princess Louise" Mr. Gladstone was but interpreting the general sentiment in this observation, for to great mental gifts and accomplishments, the Princess united a loving, a generous, and a religious nature. Dealing with another aspect of the marriage, the Premier remarked: "In the resolution which the Queen has taken that the absence of royal rank shall not of itself, and in every case, form an insuperable bar to a suit for the hand of one of her daughters, she is not acting without the advice of responsible Ministers. But she has shown, in coming to such a resolution, another manifestation of that principle which has governed her life—the principle which has taught her, amid the pomp and splendour, and amid the duties and cares of royalty, never to forget the womanly and motherly character. She has justly impressed on the mind of the country a belief that there is no mother throughout the wide expanse of her dominions to whom the personal happiness of her children is more intensely dear." Mr. Disraeli subsequently spoke in similar terms, and, referring to the Marquis of Lorne, said that without using any but the words of truth, he had gained the sympathies of the House of Commons by his intelligence and by his breeding

The marriage was solemnised with great splendour at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The contemporary records describing the scene outside the Castle state that when the Queen and the bride appeared in sight, nine hundred Eton boys, who were stationed on Castle Hill, set up a vigorous shout. This was taken up along the line, and re-echoed from the bottom of the street before the carriage had turned into Castle-yard. The Princess, like Her Majesty, bowed repeatedly, the former, through the window, appearing as if looking out from a bower of orange-blossoms. They disappeared within the Chapel, as the others had done, leaving wet eyes, agitated hearts, and whisperings of "God bless her!" amongst the thousands of spectators. The scene inside the Chapel was one of great magnificence. The ceremony itself was thus described: "Arrived at the altar, the bride's procession became incorporated with those which had preceded it, and the position of the distinguished personages occupying the seats of state upon the *haut-pas* before the altar became more defined. These seats were arranged in semicircular form, and within this semicircle, and closer to the altar-rails, stood the bride and bridegroom; the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, being a few paces behind Princess Louise; Lord Percy and Lord Ronald Gower occupying the same relative position to the Marquis of Lorne. While the 'Wedding March' was still being played, Lord Sydney distributed to the party on the dais books of the marriage service richly bound in crimson velvet. Then the service began, the two Psalms being admirably chanted by the choir to a double chant by Dr. Elvey. During the ceremony the sun shone brightly through the stained windows. The service was read by the Bishop of London in not too distinct a voice. As for the question, 'Wilt thou have this woman to be thy wedded wife?' and the interesting questions and responses which follow, not one word said by either bride or bridegroom could be heard at the end of the choir; and, as the silence at the time was almost painful, it may be easily surmised that both the Princess and the Marquis must have spoken in the

the civil wars in Scotland he espoused the cause of Queen Mary, and commanded her forces at the battle of Langside in 1568. He was subsequently constituted her Majesty's lieutenant in Scotland. He became an unsuccessful candidate for the Regency, and married, first, Lady Jane Stuart, natural daughter of James V., who was at supper with her sister, Queen Mary, when Rizzio was murdered. The eighth Earl, Archibald, who was advanced to the Marquisate of Argyll in 1641, resigned into the hands of Charles I. the Justiciaryship of all Scotland, which had been in his family for several ages, reserving only to himself and his heirs the jurisdiction of the Western Isles and of Argyll, and wherever else he had lands in Scotland, which arrangements were ratified by Act of Parliament in 1633. This nobleman had an extraordinary career At one time he was commander-in-chief of the Covenanters, but after the beheadal of Charles I., he had the honour of placing the crown upon the head of Charles II., at the king's coronation at Scone. Some years later, however, he assisted in the ceremony of proclaiming Cromwell Protector, and signed an engagement to support his government. The monarchy being restored, the Marquis of Argyll was out of favour at Court; and after various vicissitudes he was tried for high treason, condemned to death, and beheaded at the market cross of Edinburgh in 1661. The ninth earl was restored to the estates and honours of his family, as Earl of Argyll; but he, too, having been found guilty of high treason (for refusing to subscribe to the Test Act) was sentenced to death. He effected his escape in a romantic manner, but was re-taken four years later, in an abortive attempt to invade Scotland, and executed in the same manner as his father, in the year 1685. "The Last Sleep of Argyll" was one of the finest works executed by the late Mr. E. M. Ward, R.A. This represents the ninth Earl, who was treated with great inhumanity, and whose execution was hurried forward with indecent haste. When leaving the gaol, he said, "I could die like a Roman, but I choose rather to die like a Christian."

After the attainder had been removed from the family, the tenth earl of Argyll was created a duke, with other titles, in the year 1701. The second duke was created a British peer, but the honours became extinct They were revived, however, in the person of the fifth duke, who, in 1766, was created a peer of England, during the lifetime of his father, as Baron Sundridge, of Coomb Bank, in Kent. By this title the Dukes of Argyll now sit in the House of Lords. The present holder of the honours and estates is Sir George Douglas Campbell, K.T., P.C., Marquis of Lorne and Kintyre, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount Lochow and Glenilla, Lord of Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Tiry, in the peerage of Scotland; Baron Sundridge, of Coomb Bank, county of Kent, and Lord Hamilton, in the peerage of England; Hereditary Master of the Queen's Household, and Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland; Admiral of the Western Isles, Keeper of Dunoon Castle, and of Dunstaffnage and Carrick, one of her Majesty's State Counsellors for Scotland, Lord Lieutenant; and Hereditary Sheriff of County Argyll. He was elected Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews (1851). He was also for some time Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (1861); was created LL D of Cambridge, 1862, and is a Trustee of the British Museum. His Grace married, in 1844, Lady Elizabeth Georgiana, eldest daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland, by whom he has had issue five sons and seven daughters. The Duke, who succeeded his father in 1847, is one of the most distinguished and eloquent Liberal statesmen of the day. He was made Lord Privy Seal in 1853, appointed Postmaster-General in 1855, but retired in 1858. He afterwards became Lord Privy Seal in June, 1859, and retired in 1860. On the formation of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1868, he accepted the office of Secretary of State for India, and retired in 1874.

faint whispers common to those who thus plight their troth. To the Bishop's question, 'Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?' the Queen replied by a gesture, and then the Bishop joined their hands. The declarative sentence which each repeats, 'I, Princess Louise, take thee John Douglas Sutherland, Marquis of Lorne,' was as inaudible as all that had gone before. When the ring was put on, the bells pealed, the guns fired, and gave notice to the world without that the ceremony had been happily celebrated. The Bishop of Winchester read the short address to the newly-married couple, setting forth the duties of man and wife, and his clear, distinct voice was heard with fine effect in every part of the choir. Before the blessing a chorus by Beethoven was sung by the choir. Then, the ceremony being ended, the Queen gave her daughter a loving kiss, and the bridegroom, bending low, kissed Her Majesty's hand. The organ again pealed forth a march by Handel, and then the bride took her husband's arm, and walked, with a bright and happy face, out of the church, the processions otherwise following in the same order in which they had entered. The Duke and Duchess of Argyll remained for some moments on the *haut-pas* receiving the congratulations of their friends." In proceeding to Claremont, the newly-married couple halted at Esher to receive a presentation from the inhabitants. The Princess acknowledged the gift, saying, in a very distinct voice, "I thank you very much, on Lord Lorne's part and my own, for your very kind and loyal expressions." When the cheering which followed this acknowledgment had subsided, her Royal Highness added: "I receive with pleasure the kind welcome of the inhabitants of Esher, who are the first to testify their good wishes to me since my marriage. I beg to express, on Lord Lorne's part and my own, our great sense of your kindness, and to thank you very sincerely for extending to me the same good feeling which for many years you have shown to members of my family at Claremont." Whenever her Royal Highness has since appeared in public she has been received with peculiar and affectionate regard.

In July, 1878, Lord Dufferin having resigned the position of Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne was appointed to the vacant post. The appointment was most favourably received both by the English and the Canadian press. On the 14th of November, the Marquis and Marchioness of Lorne were presented with addresses by the Liverpool Corporation and Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. In reply, his lordship expressed the satisfaction with which he had observed the enthusiastic feelings manifested towards Canada among all classes of the community in England and Scotland, whenever he had of late had an opportunity of hearing any expression of the public mind. The Marquis and her Royal Highness next drove to the landing-stage, and embarked on board the *Sarmatian*, which was to convey them to Canada. The Duke of Connaught and Prince Leopold, having taken a farewell of their royal sister and her husband, then returned to London.

On the 23rd of November, the Marquis of Lorne and his Royal consort arrived off Halifax harbour, after a stormy passage, but the *Sarmatian* was unable to effect a landing. Next day the Princess and the Marquis landed in a boat belonging to the *Black Prince*, and attended church, afterwards returning to the *Black Prince* to lunch with the Duke of Edinburgh. The official reception took place two days later. The forts and ships saluted, state the daily journals, the fleet manned yards, and cheered; every ship in the harbour was dressed with flags, and every point of land that offered a foothold whence the scene might be surveyed, was thronged with people. Canadians crowded in from all parts.

Amongst them came the chief of the Micmacs, with a dozen of his tribe, craving permission to walk in the procession behind the daughter of the Queen of England. The Marquis and the Princess disembarked in the Duke of Edinburgh's barge, the Admiral leading the way, and a flotilla of boats following. The Marquis was received at the wharf by General Macdougall and his staff, Sir John Macdonald, and the other Ministers Through triumphal arches, and through the living lane of the enthusiastic population, the open carriages conveying the party passed to the Legislative Chamber, where, General Macdougall resigning the interim Governorship, the Marquis was sworn in amid loud cheering, drowned by a salvo of artillery from the citadel. The Duke of Edinburgh was present in the uniform of a captain in the navy; the Marquis of Lorne wore the Windsor uniform. The Princess, flushed with the excitement of the magnificent reception, looked exceedingly well as she stepped ashore, but was wearied before the ceremony was concluded. Her Royal Highness held a drawing-room in the evening, and it was largely attended The city was brilliantly illuminated in honour of the occasion.

The exalted office of Governor-General of Canada is no sinecure, but, in addition to its onerous duties, it calls for the greatest circumspection and ability in its holder. One of the English daily journals observed at the time of Lord Lorne's appointment. "With the arrival of the new Governor-General of Canada and his wife at Montreal the full duties of his responsible post may be said to fall upon him. The enthusiasm with which Lord Lorne and the Princess Louise have been received by the people of what has some title to be considered our most loyal colony shows how little difficulty there ought to be in maintaining with the Canadians those satisfactory relations to which Lord Dufferin referred so eloquently in his speech at Belfast Yet, in succeeding to a man of Lord Dufferin's tact and capacity, the Marquis of Lorne challenges comparison with the ablest and most successful of modern Governors; and it is not too much to say that the more closely he follows his predecessor in dealing with party differences, the more likely is he to gain the respect and affection of the whole colony. Of the effect produced on the Canadians by the appearance of a member of the royal family as the leader of colonial society it is unnecessary to speak We may be sure that some judgment and knowledge of the world, which is so essential even in our aristocratic community, will not be found wanting in dealing with the somewhat different elements of Canadian society. A great opportunity is offered both to the Governor-General and the Princess of helping to knit yet closer the connection between the Canadian Dominion and the mother-country. There is happily every ground to believe that they will take advantage of it." In the month of August, 1879, the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise made a public progress through the province of New Brunswick. On the borders of the province they were met by the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of the local government. His Excellency and the Princess received their first address of welcome from the Acadians of New Brunswick. The Acadians, who were the pioneers of the country, are now loyal subjects of the Queen; but last century they were deported from Acadia under circumstances of great hardship, owing to the fact that they refused allegiance to the British Crown. Lord Lorne, in replying to the address, observed that the memory of French Acadian gallantry had been most perfectly preserved by Longfellow's "Evangeline;" and his lordship added "The rights and privileges which were so well sustained by arms on the part of Canadians of Gallic blood are preserved to them intact and inviolate, not only by the letter of treaties, but also by the spirit of British liberty, and the consequent respect and sympathy shown to loyal fellow-citizens, the sons of ancient rivals." In answer to another address, received at Sussex, his Excellency, speaking in the name of the

Princess, said: "She will always associate herself gladly in anything tending to the welfare of the people of this Dominion. In so doing she will fulfil the wish of her father, the Prince Consort, whose desire it was that his children should identify themselves with the interests of our colonial empire." On arriving at the city of St. John, the Governor-General and the Princess were presented with an address, which recalled the great sacrifices for loyalty made by the patriotic citizens nearly a century ago. His lordship, in his reply, remarked upon this point: "The words in which you recall the trials through which many of your ancestors passed in this country—now the happy home of their descendants—remind me how strong to-day among you is the feeling of the duty of patriotism—a duty, the fulfilment of which, I rejoice to think, is accompanied by no burden, but brings with it the enjoyment of much political advantage." Other cities were embraced in the Governor-General's tour, and a progress was also arranged through the province of Ontario.

The Marquis of Lorne has fulfilled his numerous duties with great tact, discrimination, and ability; while the Princess has won golden opinions from all who have had the honour of being brought into relations with her. The wisdom of Lord Lorne's appointment has been abundantly justified; and we cannot doubt but that it will have the much-desired effect of bringing Canada into an even still closer harmony with Great Britain. All the addresses of the Governor-General to the Canadians have been marked by a conciliatory spirit, and have invariably been received with satisfaction and enthusiasm.

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PRESIDENT GREVY.

THE INTERNATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

PRESIDENT GRÉVY.

and condemned violence had its commencement in a street fight. When M. Grévy was raised to the post of chief custodian of law and order, many solemn people shook their heads and sighed their sighs over this escapade of his youth; but—such is human nature—most Frenchmen were probably not displeased to know that the staid, peaceful, and self-controlled maturity of their chief ruler should have had its day of hot blood and uncalculating passion. It was characteristic of Grévy's good sense that when his work as a revolutionist of a few days was completed he went back with perfect content to his books, resisting the temptation, which a precocious interference in active politics usually gives, to hate retirement and despise study. The young man must have been a diligent reader too, for very soon after his admission to his profession he proved himself an able and profound pleader. Any one who had heard his learned disquisitions on law at this period, delivered without passion, and clothed in plain and terse language, would have probably predicted that the future for which Grévy was destined, and after which alone he strove, was that of the great jurisprudent. But, somehow or other, circumstances interfered then, as so often since, with the apparently manifest wishes and capacities of the lawyer, for he found himself frequently employed in those State trials which form, unfortunately, too large a part of the business in the law courts of France. In May of 1839, for instance, he was the chief defender of some companions of M. Blanqui, the life-long conspirator, whose election, by a curious coincidence, was afterwards one of the chief and most exciting events under M. Grévy's rule. The selection of the advocate, though justified by the result, was not quite in accordance with the usual traditions. The eminence of the majority of lawyers who have risen in France to political power will be found to originate in some impassioned denunciation of the existing Government, for which a State trial supplied the opportunity. But Grévy indulged in no such philippics, and sought no such personal glory at the expense of the interests of his clients. Daniel O'Connell used to say, in speaking of practice at the Bar, that a fine speech was a great thing, but that the verdict was *the* thing. Grévy acted on a similar principle, and so was successful where a more brilliant orator or an aspiring politician would have probably failed.

Thus Grévy went on for many years, quietly pursuing his profession, and unheard of by the public, except when some Radical conspirator had transgressed the narrow limits of liberty which the law allowed. Those appearances, however, had proclaimed to the world the lawyer's political creed. Grévy became known as an avowed adherent of the Republic; and from that creed he has, during a career passed under *régimes* that appeared to be omnipotent and dynasties that promised perpetuity, never once swerved. Up to the very hour before his fall, Louis Philippe held his throne, so far as one could see, by a tenure as secure as that of any monarch in Europe; but not on a single occasion, throughout the long spell of eighteen years during which he held power, did the prosperous, able, and universally respected lawyer accept place or post At last, the revolution of 1848 sent Louis Philippe along the same road over which his kinsman and predecessor had travelled before him; and with the proclamation of the Republic came the day of the Republican lawyer. The authorities at once bestowed upon him a high office—that of Commissary of the Republic for his native Department of the Jura This was a trust which it required no little skill to satisfactorily fulfil, and but few of the colleagues of M Grévy in the office succeeded in bringing much credit either on themselves or on the Government they represented. It too often happens in political affairs that public interests have to be sacrificed to personal claims; and the desire to reward some individuals who have worked faithfully in the past, or to get rid of others

who may prove troublesome in the future, leads frequently to the appointment of incompetent persons to high office. Thus it was with the Commissaries of the Republic in 1848 Young lawyers who were not wanted in Paris were permitted to air their juvenile impudence among the provincials; and the fussiness or the eccentricity that was feared in the metropolis had full scope for frightening the sober-minded, harassing vested interests, and experimenting with established institutions in the Departments, and so the agent of the Government left behind him in many places a cordial hate for his own person, and a rooted distrust of the political *régime* he so badly represented. The experience of M. Grévy was of a diametrically opposite character. He soon showed that, though he represented the Republic, he intended to act impartially towards men of all political parties; he dealt tenderly with all claims and all classes, and he snubbed unmercifully the noisy and greedy army of Republican wire-pullers, who shouted that all others were traitors, and that they alone should have the loaves and fishes.

The result of this prudent conduct was that M. Grévy returned to Paris with an established reputation for executive powers, and left behind him in the Jura golden memories among all classes. High rewards soon followed. When the elections to the Constituent Assembly came, he was returned for his Department by an immense number of votes at the head of the eight representatives; and, after his election, his fellow-deputies raised him to the position of their Vice-President and Member of the Committee of Justice. He soon became known as one of the ablest, most lucid, and most moderate spokesmen of the Democratic party. He had too much individuality to be the representative of the narrow creed of any section, and too much good sense to share in the wild illusions of the theorists among his own colleagues; but his speeches and his votes showed that he could be relied on as a firm supporter of the doctrines represented by the Extreme Left. The principal work which the Assembly had to do was to frame a Constitution, and it was while discussing the question of the Executive that M. Grévy took a step which secures him a place in history, and establishes his reputation for that foresight which is one of the first and most necessary qualities of the statesman. When the question of the Presidency came to be discussed, M. Grévy proposed an amendment, the effect of which would have been to make the chief of the Executive simply what we would call a Prime Minister—the President of the existing Cabinet. This official was to be elected by the Assembly by ballot, and by an absolute majority. The third and most important proviso was that the duration of power was to be indefinite, the Assembly retaining authority to dismiss him at any moment. This "Amendement Grévy" excited a vast amount of public interest, and was for a considerable period on everybody's tongue; indeed, there is a story that a puzzle-headed constituent of the proposer asked him seriously whether his name were M. Amendement or M. Grévy. The arguments which M. Grévy urged in favour of his proposition sound more like comments on events after they had happened than warnings against dangers that were yet to come. Pointing out the imprudence of electing a man to a lengthened period of office, he maintained that the peril was greater than ever at that moment; and he justified this statement by alluding to the position of one citizen in particular. "If that ambitious man," he said, "is a scion of one of those families which have reigned in France, if he has never explicitly renounced what he calls his rights, if commerce languishes, if the people are suffering, if there is one of this kind of crises, when distress and disappointment give them over to those who veil beneath promises designs against their liberty, do you answer for it that that ambitious man will not succeed in overturning the Republic?" The Assembly, however, like so many other Parliamentary bodies and previous

holders of power in France, was confident in the future, laughed those fears to scorn, and on the 7th of October, 1848, rejected the Grévy Amendment by 643 votes to 158.

The time soon came when the Assembly was to receive the most striking proof of its suicidal folly. As if impelled by a malign fate, the one man above all others which it helped to push to the front was the very man who was destined to destroy representative institutions in France for nearly a quarter of a century. The story of the Presidential Election is soon told. Two candidates were before the French people—General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon. The one was a tried and consistent Republican; the other was a man of mystery, taciturn, dreamy, and apparently not over-intelligent. The country, too, was still in complete darkness as to what were his political views and his ultimate aims. In the apparently wild escapades of his youth, he had always put himself forward as the lawful heir of the Imperial throne that had once been held by his great uncle; and in the various publications which had proceeded from his pen, the chief theme had been the necessity of a revival in some shape of the Napoleonic legend. But all that belonged to the past. In recent times the Prince had spoken but on two or three occasions in the Assembly that had just ceased to exist, and timid, unpractised in speaking, and a stranger to the vast majority of the Deputies, he had been able to do no more than stumble through a few halting sentences, and when he sat down, the Assembly accordingly was left in the same state of absolute ignorance as to what he really meant. In fact, "he had never," as M. Grévy had put it in his speech in favour of his amendment, "he had never explicitly renounced what he called his rights." Under those circumstances, the duty of a staunch Republican like M. Grévy was quite plain. It was not for a Republican, he argued doubtless with himself, to be allured by the promises of a revival of that military glory, which had cost France such terrible sufferings in the end; it was not for a Republican to accept the doctrine that even greatness in war compensated a country for the loss of her liberty; and, finally, it was not for a Republican to expose the established government to the mercies of an individual, who had given but too many proofs of being no friend to those institutions. Under those circumstances, we cannot wonder that M. Grévy was among the most ardent advocates of General Cavaignac and the bitterest foes of Prince Louis Napoleon. As everybody knows, the country took a different view. The Napoleonic legend had not yet lost its hold over the imaginations of Frenchmen, and thus the heir of the Bonapartes was elected president by an overwhelming majority.

From this moment M. Grévy had to fight a losing battle. Installed at the Elysée, the new President and his followers began at once the combinations which ended in the overthrow of the Republic and the establishment of the Empire. It would be needless to give more than a passing glance at the events of the next few years. The period was marked by constant collisions between the Parliament and the Presidency. There was the expedition to Rome, to which the members of the Left vehemently objected, partly because of their sympathies with the efforts of the revolutionists to establish a united Italy, and partly because they regarded the expedition as a violation of the Constitution. Then, there came those tours of Louis Napoleon through the provinces, in which he received addresses, delivered messages, reviewed troops, and went through all the other ceremonials which belonged rather to a sovereign than to the chief of a Republican state. Nor was this the only danger which during this exciting time seemed to threaten the existing government. The death of Louis Philippe produced manifestations in favour of the Comte de Paris; the Comte de Chambord at the same time held mimic court at Wiesbaden, and there was loud talk of the two royalist branches fusing

their claims in order to make common cause against the Republic. During all those bitter trials M. Grévy continued to follow the even tenor of his Republican course. While so many others, beginning to perceive in the President the rising sun, became lukewarm in their once hot Republicanism, and roared like sucking doves, M. Grévy redoubled his efforts, and became more pronounced in his faith as the tide rose higher against him. The President had not among the deputies a more watchful or a more unsparing critic. M Grévy spoke against the expedition to Rome, denounced the fusion that was supposed to exist between the adherents of Orleanism and Legitimacy, and was equally bitter in his opposition to the steps inspired from the Presidential *entourage*. When the *coup d'état* came, he was, of course, one of the deputies who were for a time imprisoned in Mazas.

With the downfall of the Republican Government began another long interval of political retirement for M. Grévy. The sternness of principle which forbade him to accept favour from the Parliamentary Government of Louis Philippe shrank still more strongly from any employment under the autocratic rule of the Third Empire. Throughout the twenty years of Imperial rule he never once abated his opposition, and even when so many of his Liberal friends saw a new era in the advent of M. Emile Ollivier and the promise of a Constitution, he still obstinately held aloof. Meanwhile, he pursued with steadiness the even tenor of his professional career, and in 1868 was raised by his colleagues to the lofty position of *bâtonnier*, or head of the profession. In the following year the time seemed to have at length arrived when he might re-enter the political arena with some hope of doing good. This was the period when the Empire, hitherto as firm apparently as the rocks, began to show the first signs of crumbling at the base, and the coming crash began to be vaguely apprehended. M. Grévy stood as a candidate of the Opposition before his old constituents in the Jura. The contest excited a deep degree of interest, partly from the eminence of the candidate, and partly because this was the first time since 1852 that the Imperialist cause seemed in danger of failure in a rural constituency. A heavy defeat of the Administration was the result, M. Grévy polling no less than 22,428 votes out of a total of 32,718. So conscious was the Government of its failure, that in the next year no official candidate was started, and M. Grévy was re-elected. Soon came that terrible July, in which the issues of peace or a bloody and gigantic conflict lay trembling in the balance; and M. Grévy was one of the small and courageous band who opposed the declaration of the most disastrous war of our time. Though he had thus fought against the Empire, he had no sympathy with the men of the Fourth of September, who violently broke up the Legislative Assembly, and overthrew in a few hours a dynasty of twenty years' duration. His argument was that the Corps Législatif, however much one might object to the manner in which it had been elected, was still the only existing representative of the people, and ought, therefore, to be left the duty of deposing the dynasty. This also was the view of M. Thiers, and their agreement on this point led to closer relations between the two men, and laid the foundations of an alliance destined to be very fruitful in the history of the next few years As a consequence of his taking this view of the origin of the Government of the 4th of September, M. Grévy held aloof from it during the entire war. He was also one of those who thought M. Gambetta should, instead of continuing to exercise dictatorial powers, call in the counsels of a representative Assembly; and the difference of opinion which arose between the two statesmen on this point is said to have led to a sharp exchange of uncomplimentary language. "Do what you may," M. Grévy is represented to have said to the young dictator, "you will never be a Republican; you are fated to die in the skin of a rebel!" Fortunately, events have proved the

inaccuracy of the prophecy, the most remarkable thing about M. Gambetta in later years being his development of statesmanlike qualities. Fortunately, also, community of political sympathies, and partnership in the same struggles for the Republic, have brought the two men into close alliance; and now they both probably look back with some amusement on their false estimates of each other in the past.

When, after the agreement to an armistice on the fall of Paris, the National Assembly was convened at Bordeaux, public opinion was almost unanimous in pointing out M. Grévy as the most suitable person for occupying the Presidential chair; and on the vote being taken in the Assembly there were in his favour 519, and against him but 19. Though he was known to be a man of strong political sympathies, nobody ventured to accuse him of partiality in the discharge of his difficult duties, and he was re-elected to the office several times in the years 1871, 1872, and 1873. Towards the middle of the latter year, however, the Monarchical forces seemed to have arrived at a combination of their ranks; the time apparently was at hand when they would be able to re-establish the Monarchy; and soon an incident occurred in the Chamber which rendered M. Grévy's position no longer tenable. He found it necessary to call one of the Monarchical speakers to order for using the word "impertinent." By questioning his decision, the Royalist Deputies showed that they were no longer willing to give to him the respect necessary for fulfilling his duties properly. Besides, he was doubtless anxious to escape from a position in which he was compelled to look on at the efforts to destroy the only form of government wherein he saw the safety of his country. He summed up his position tersely by declaring that he would neither be an accomplice nor a dupe. He published a pamphlet, in which he said: "France has been transformed, and has become a pure democracy. Her first mistake," he said, "was not to have founded the Constitutional Monarchy when she possessed the elements of one;" and "her second mistake would be to attempt to establish it when those elements no longer existed." In his new position of a simple deputy he spoke against the Septennate, arguing that the Assembly was going beyond its powers in establishing a Government for the following seven years; he supported the Constitution of 1875, and he refused to enter the Senate as a life member. It is matter of history how the jealousies between different Monarchical parties, and the impracticable policy of the Count de Chambord, brought to nullity the efforts of the friends of a Monarchy, and how in the end a Republic was definitely established.

In the general election of 1876 M. Grévy was again returned to the National Assembly, and he was once more raised to the Presidency. He retained his place through the different Ministries; and, though silent, was one of the most influential leaders of the Republican party in their opposition to the Government of the 16th of May. Marshal MacMahon thought so highly of his ability and integrity, widely as he differed from him in politics, that he was ready to consult him in cases of difficulty; and he is reported to have said, at the conclusion of one of the conferences between them: "You are the most honest man I know." Similar testimony had been given by another, and even still more pronounced, political opponent. M. Schneider, the President of the Corps Législatif under the Empire, in giving his evidence in 1871 before the Commission of Inquiry into the Government of National Defence, declared that "at a time when there was so much degeneracy of character it was really a pleasure to find a character so serious, upright, and lofty as that of M. Grévy."

The death of M. Thiers removed the chosen candidate of the Liberal party in opposition to Marshal MacMahon, and it became an accepted fact that whenever the Marshal should, either by

the lapse of time or of his own motion, cease to be President, M Grévy should be his successor. We need not recapitulate the events which induced the Marshal to lay down his office before the allotted time. Let us hurry on to tell how his successor was elected. The circumstances of that election form one of the brightest and most hopeful pages in the modern history of France. It has been one of the greatest misfortunes of that country that most of her changes of Government have been effected by violence; and the population of the towns especially have thus grown up in traditions of bloodshed, and the country generally is, even in its moments of deepest tranquillity, always haunted by the spectre of public disorder. The manner of M. Grévy's election marks, therefore, an era in the annals of France which is not only novel, but also fruitful of most needful and most useful lessons to that country.

It was on the morning of the 30th of January, 1878, that Marshal MacMahon announced his final decision on the question which had formed the subject of dispute between himself and the Cabinet; and his decision was resignation. At twenty minutes past three on the same day, M. Grévy, as President of the Chamber of Deputies, read the Marshal's letter of resignation to the assembled representatives in solemn silence. Next he quoted the article of the Constitution which provided for the existing emergency, that provision being that the two Chambers should sit together in Congress and elect by ballot a new President. Then it was announced that the House stood adjourned till half-past four, and just as the clock pointed to half-past three—that is, ten minutes after the commencement—came the close of the sitting. A similar scene had been at the same time enacted in the Senate At half-past four the Congress of the two Houses was opened, under the Presidency of M. Martel. But brief space was wasted; a few moments sufficed to bring the members from standing in lively conversation to silence and their seats; with equal promptitude, an excitable Bonapartist, who asked impossible questions and shrieked out some vehement incoherences, was disposed of; and at five o'clock the voting began. It lasted for an hour and a half, and was marked by more than one picturesque incident. There were cheers for the greatest poet of France, as he ascended the tribune to drop his voting paper. A still greater demonstration followed M. Dufaure, the able, honest, and vigorous octogenarian, who had seen the Republic through its latest peril; while the Duc de Broglie passed on amid the frigid silence of his encompassing and victorious opponents An hour later M. Martel announced the result. Out of 670 votes, M. Grévy had received 563, the remainder having been given to General Chanzy, who, without his consent, and probably to his annoyance, had been put forward by some of the Monarchists. And thus, in the same day, without the firing of one shot, the shedding of one drop of blood, almost without the exchange of one acrimonious word, France substituted one chief ruler for another. "Monsieur Gambetta," commented M. Grévy, when his now close ally called upon him with his congratulations, "my bed will not be altogether one of roses;" and in these words he gave the best expression to what were, in all probability, his true feelings on his elevation. He is a serious, steady, unexcitable man, more inclined to consider the responsibilities than the dignity of his position, and not capable of the arrogance which prosperity breeds in little minds and mean natures.

Since his accession to office M. Grévy has fulfilled the hopes that were entertained of him. It is probably true of a President, as of a woman, that the best is the one of whom people speak least. There have been burning questions, Ministerial crises, inconvenient outbursts of surcharged revolutionary feeling, even in the single year since M. Grévy took office; but the President has steered clear of all share in these controversies. It is needless to point out that this is the proper attitude of a Chief of the Executive.

The picture of M. Grévy would not be complete without telling something of the man personally. He is described by the experienced and brilliant pen of Mr. Grenville Murray as "a short, dapper man, with a face smooth-shaven all but a trim fringing of grey whisker; thin, firm lips; a square, bald head; grey eyes; and a peremptory voice." In his private actions M. Grévy gives a very exemplary model of Republican simplicity. It is reported of Marshal MacMahon that, in one of his periodical quarrels with the representatives of the Republican party, he exclaimed impatiently, "If you want a President in a black coat, try one!" He himself was certainly not a President in a black coat, for on all State occasions he appeared resplendent in his military uniform, was surrounded by a brilliant suite, and rode in carriages and with postilions gorgeous in heraldic trappings. This, of course, he had a perfect right to do, especially as, with the generosity characteristic of his manly nature, he paid the greater part of the necessary expenditure out of his private purse. M. Grévy, on the other hand, is a lawyer, and not a soldier, and evinces now, as throughout his life, a remarkable aversion to outward pomp. Mr. Grenville Murray, in the interesting sketch of the President to which we are indebted for so much of our information, relates that when M. Grévy was Commissary of the Republic in 1848 he would have nought of the embroidered coat and plumed hat which formed part of the habiliments ascribed to his position, and was content with wearing a tricolor sash around his waist. It is also characteristic that he never yielded to what is, perhaps more than love itself, the *grande passion* of the Frenchman—the hunger for a decoration. It was not till the day when, as President, he became Grand Master of the Legion of Honour that M. Grévy had any right to don the bit of ribbon which is so prominent an ornament of eminent men in his country. When he was President of the Assembly he always preferred the democratic wide-awake to the more formidable silk hat, and in summer time he even ventured on the still less aristocratic panama. He never possessed a brougham till he was raised to his high position in the Assembly; his servants were not in livery; and he not unfrequently might be seen in a cab, or among the occupants of the humble omnibus. Nor did he aspire to the amphitryonic glories which sometimes form one of the ambitions of successful politicians; for during his Presidency of the Assembly he gave no balls, confining himself to dinner parties, to which men of all opinions were invited. His pleasures are few and simple. He can amuse himself for any length of time over dominoes—a game that has the high merit of causing but an infinitesimal amount of intellectual effort; the President also is very fond of a game of billiards. M. Grévy has other amusements when he leaves Paris for his estate in the Jura. There he may be seen hunting game with vigour and sportsmanlike zest, or strolling with satisfaction through his fields of corn or vine.

Such is M. Grévy; and the best hope the well-wisher of France can have is that she may be able in the future to find many men equally fitted, by personal convictions, history, firmness, and toleration, to attain to the chief rule of a free people.

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hands on the 15th of July. The fruits of this victory, which again was marked by many atrocities on the part of the Carlists, were afterwards rendered nugatory by the activity of the Republican troops; but for some months success inclined to the side of Don Carlos. Marshal Zabala, the Republican commander, returning to Madrid, renounced his command; and this step was regarded as part of a movement which was gaining ground among the army and most of the monarchical Liberals, to put an end to the provisional government, and proclaim as king the son of Isabella. Meanwhile, the fortunes of war turned against the Carlists. They sustained a signal defeat near Pampeluna in September, and were afterwards driven from Irun. The President of the Republic, Marshal Serrano, now assumed the command of the army of the north; but during his absence from the capital the Alfonsists, or advocates of the Prince of the Asturias, had been silently but energetically working on his behalf. The supporters of Alfonso consisted of a large majority of the middle and upper classes of society. They had sent addresses to the young prince at Sandhurst on the occasion of his seventeenth birthday, and to these addresses he had returned an answer, from which we extract what may be regarded as its chief passage:—"In virtue of the spontaneous and solemn ablication of my august mother, whose generosity is only equalled by her misfortune, I am the sole representative of monarchical right in Spain. This right rests upon the legislation of ages, confirmed by all the precedents of history, and it is indissolubly united to the representative institutions which never ceased to act legally during the thirty-five years which passed from the beginning of my mother's reign, until I, being still a child, trod with all my family, a foreign soil. The nation being now orphaned of all public rights, and indefinitely deprived of her liberties, it is natural that she should turn her eyes to her accustomed constitutional rights, and to those free institutions which neither prevented her from defending her independence in 1812, nor from concluding in 1840 another obstinate civil war. She owed to them also many years of constant progress, of prosperity, of credit, and even of some glory; years which it is not easy to blot out from the memory, when there are still so many who have known them. Let no one expect me to decide anything hastily or arbitrarily. Without Cortes, Spanish princes never transacted serious business in the ancient time of the monarchy, and this most just rule of conduct will not be forgotten by me in the present state of things, and when all Spaniards are already used to Parliamentary proceedings. When cases shall arise, it will be easy for a true-hearted prince and a free people to understand each other, and to agree upon all the questions which may have to be decided." The Prince concluded by stating that, be his fate what it might, he should not cease to be a true Spaniard, nor, like all his ancestors, a true Catholic, nor, as a man of his time, truly Liberal.

This frank and constitutional document greatly enlarged the numbers of the young prince's adherents, and on the 31st of December he was proclaimed king at Valencia by General Martinez Campos. Serrano was unable to fight against the wishes both of the people and the army, which were unmistakably in favour of Don Alfonso. Queen Isabella and her son, who had taken up their abode at the Hotel Basilewsky, Paris, were informed on the last day of the year that the armies of the north and centre had made common cause with Martinez Campos's battalions; that the Madrid garrison, informed beforehand when the movement was to occur, had proclaimed the Prince of the Asturias King of Spain, under the title of Alfonso XII.; and that a ministry, taking the title of the Regency Ministry, had been constituted. Its chief was Canovas del Castillo. The Marquis di Vega di Armijo, Spanish ambassador at Paris, received a telegram apprising him of the new order of things, and directing him to give information thereof to the French Government. The newly-constituted monarch was speedily overwhelmed

with congratulations, and the following brief address from the army of the north to the Minister President reached the hotel Basilewsky:—"We congratulate your Excellency with the greatest warmth. The army of the north, in seeing King Alfonso, the representative of the legitimate monarchy, on the throne, hopes the royal flag will not henceforth be the ensign of a party, but that under which all who love order and liberty range themselves."

This new revolution was hailed with the warmest demonstrations of delight at Madrid. Appointments of distinguished Alfonsists were announced, and adhesions to the restored monarchy came in hour after hour from numbers of military commanders and civil governors of the provinces. King Alfonso landed at Barcelona on the 9th of January, and two days afterwards entered Valencia, the city which originated the movement, and which was now beside itself with enthusiasm. A spectator of the scene stated that the son of Isabella showed himself every inch a king, and to the manner born. "He sat and guided his horse with masterly skill, serene and perfectly collected in the midst of all that thundering artillery, of those flashing battalions, of that jangling brass from the church steeples, of that roaring, swaying, surging multitude, like a man long familiar with the world's homage, accustomed to the pomp and noise, the lofty isolation, the proud self-concentration and security of one born to command. The people of all classes felt the spell of that natural, innate majesty. The crowd at the Grao, along the road, in the streets, at the church doors, everywhere, was perfectly appalling. Not only was all Valencia out to greet the king, but from 25,000 to 30,000 of the country population had flocked in to avail themselves of the opportunity to catch a glimpse of him." Entering Madrid on the 14th, King Alfonso issued a notification to the different European Powers announcing his ascension of the throne. Determined to show to his people that he was one with them in everything, and prepared likewise to share their dangers, the young sovereign immediately resolved upon joining the army of the north, where Generals Laserna, Loma, and Moriones, were commanding the Government forces against the insurgents, then threatening Pampeluna. Proclamations were issued from Pesalta, and in that addressed to the inhabitants of the Basque provinces and Navarre the king said:—"On returning to my native country I earnestly wished for peace. I have ascended the throne, as I desired, without bloodshed. If you dispute my rights by force, I shall be compelled to fight for them. If you are fighting for the monarchical faith, I am the representative of the dynasty to which your fathers swore fidelity. If you are fighting for the Catholic faith, I am a Catholic king, and shall undo the injustice perpetrated against the Church. I am and shall remain a Constitutional king. You love liberty, and you cannot deprive Spaniards of it. Lay down your arms, and you will see the prosperity of Cuba revived, and you shall enjoy the freedom you possessed under the sceptre of my mother. Before commencing battle I offer you peace. Listen to the voice of your king!" His Majesty offered a full pardon and complete amnesty as regarded the past to all who had participated in the insurrections; and exhorted the officers who by the revolutionary movement had been induced to join Don Carlos, to return and take their place among their former comrades. In a second proclamation, addressed to the army, the king said:—"I ask you to display abnegation and energy, not for the sake of glory, but in order to obtain peace. Our adversaries are Spaniards, and I have addressed them in the language of peace. If they refuse to listen to it, we shall give them battle, and God will protect those who are desirous of peace, and are not fighting against the Fatherland. It is your duty to aid your king to triumph in this cause." Pampeluna was relieved, and the king entered the city on the 6th

of February; but the Government troops sustained a check near Estella. Alfonso's advisers thereupon decided on his return to Madrid; and the young monarch entered his capital only to discover that home difficulties of grave importance existed. The President of the Council had been unable to effect a reconciliation between the Conservatives and Liberals. General Moriones threw up his command in the north, and the king was driven to the unpopular step of ordering a new levy of seventy thousand soldiers to meet the exigencies of the rebellion. At Logrono Alfonso had been met by the veteran soldier Marshal Espartero, who handed to his sovereign the grand colour of the order of St. Ferdinand, which he had worn for many years In March the cause of the new King obtained an important adhesion in the person of the old Carlist General Cabrera. Issuing a manifesto from Paris, Cabrera announced his recognition of Don Alfonso as King of Spain. Accepting an accomplished fact, he placed in Alfonso's hand the flag he had always defended, inscribed with the sacred principles of the holy cause. Disdaining to reply to calumnies directed against himself, Cabrera observed that the same causes which paralysed Carlist efforts in 1839 and 1848 had reappeared. He asked whether they should always maintain the blind struggle to keep up a germ of discord which doomed the country to an eternal martyrdom. The text of the Convention offered by the Madrid ministry and accepted by Cabrera was appended to his proclamation. It provided that the Basque and Navarre provinces which should submit to King Alfonso within a month should enjoy their *fueros* as they existed before the present war; that all Carlist civil and military appointments and decorations, after being duly proved before Cabrera, should be recognised, their holders being incorporated in the Alfonsist army and civil service. Cabrera issued a second manifesto, appealing to the fruitlessness of the war in proof of the wisdom of his counsels, but his attempt to break up the Carlist party proved unsuccessful. Don Carlos issued a decree depriving him of his decorations and titles. The war proceeded, and two decisive events occurred in July and August, 1875. General Quesada relieved Vittoria, and Generals Martinez Campos and Jovellar captured Seo d'Urgel. The Catalan Carlists now retired from the struggle, which, however, was as yet by no means over. In December, Canovas, who had temporarily seceded from the conduct of public affairs, once more resumed office as head of the ministry at Madrid, and General Jovellar made preparations for conducting a winter campaign against the enemy. On the 16th of January, 1876, Don Carlos addressed a letter to his captain-general, the Duke de Elio, announcing that the critical moment for which his heart longed had arrived. "Now that you can no longer accompany me," wrote the Pretender, "act at least as adviser, so that the honour of the flag to which you have dedicated your life may remain untarnished in every combat, and that with better fortune, though perhaps with less skill, we may bear it triumphantly through Spain, overthrowing every obstacle presuming to obstruct our march." Don Carlos also addressed a letter to the military chaplain-general, requesting that "in these solemn moments, when the fate of the country is at stake, you will invite all the clergy, military and parochial, to ask God for a blessing upon me and my subjects."

Subsequent events, involving the total collapse of the Carlist cause, may be briefly described. General Martinez Campos, the commander-in-chief of the Alfonsists, conceived the bold plan of seizing the valley of the Bidassoa, which would drive the Carlists back to their positions in Guipuzcoa, shut off their communication with France, and cut them off from gaining any supplies except by sea Accordingly (his ends being facilitated by the French Government), General Moriones captured the heights of Garati-Mendi above Guetaria by a

feint, on the 25th of January. Quesada, advancing from Vittoria, pushed the Carlists towards him in the direction of Guipuzcoa, and took Durango on February 5. Loma, meanwhile, having taken Valmonade, succeeded in occupying Guernica before February 8. The three generals now made a simultaneous movement upon Guipuzcoa, and met the king at Vergara. His Majesty had again assumed the command of the army in the north, with General Quesada as chief of his general staff Estella, the head-quarters of the Carlists, was captured by General Primo de Rivera on the 19th of February, while Martinez Campos defeated the enemy in their positions above Veras. On the 21st King Alfonso was received with great popular demonstrations at Tolosa, which for four years had recognised the Pretender as the sovereign of Spain. Don Carlos fled into French territory, and surrendered to the Governor of Bayonne. Fearing that his presence might cause some embarrassment, Marshal MacMahon did not invite Don Carlos to prolong his stay on French soil, and the Pretender consequently left for England, afterwards visiting the United States.

In March the king proclaimed a full amnesty to all Carlists who should make submission before the 15th of the month. On the opening of the Cortes the king and his sister the Princess of the Asturias, were received with loyal acclamations by the members, and the royal speech excited great enthusiasm, more especially that part of it which alluded to the release of 76,000 slaves in Cuba. Peace having been restored to the country, King Alfonso, accompanied by Generals Primo de Rivera and Quesada, entered Madrid on the 19th of March. The public entry was celebrated by religious services, public concerts, and bull-fights. On the 27th of March, in the sitting of Congress, the draught of a new Constitution was read, the following being the most important article therein:—"That the Roman Catholic religion is the religion of and shall be exclusively maintained by the State, that, within the limits of Christian morality, freedom of religious *cultos* shall be lawful, but no public manifestations other than those of the Church." This article, with its slight religious concession, excited the utmost hostility at the Vatican, and the Pope strongly condemned it in a brief addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. His Holiness also addressed a letter to the ladies of Madrid on the subject. The Government were bitterly assailed, and the Pope threatened, if the obnoxious article should be passed, to withdraw the Pro-Nuncio from the capital. The Ministry, however, remained firm, and carried the article by large majorities It still continued to be fulminated against for a considerable period by the dignitaries of the Roman Church. The new Constitution was promulgated at Madrid early in July, but the tranquillity of the kingdom was for some time disturbed by the return of the exiled Queen Isabella. She was received at Santander by the king, and entered the capital privately.

In 1877 the work of pacification of the country was continued, and it was felt that Spain enjoyed a greater measure of repose than had been the case for many years. King Alfonso made a tour of the east coast in February, and after enthusiastic receptions at other places he arrived at Cartagena, where he laid the corner-stone of a new mole or jetty. His Majesty made the following reply to an address presented to him:—"Now that the war is ended, thanks to the army and the support of the country, the sources of public wealth must be developed by encouraging industry and commerce. I desire to be associated with every enterprise useful to the nation, and joyfully accept the title of founder of this great work, which will redound to the good of Cartagena and of labour in general. I am also gratified by the attachment manifested to me by Cartagena in her reception, and shall preserve this souvenir of it all my life." A decree of much importance, assimilating the Basque provinces

to the rest of Spain and dissolving their Juntas, was promulgated on May 7. The king further manifested his determination to support the Cortes in the law relating to religious liberty by issuing an order censuring the conduct of the Mayor of Ignatoraf, who had used his authority to compel Protestant parents to have their children baptised by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. "His Majesty," so ran the order, "desiring to make respected the principle of freedom of conscience and religious profession, which constitutes one of the rights of Spaniards and of every person inhabiting this realm, has ordered you to be informed of the displeasure with which he has seen the conduct of the Mayor of Ignatoraf, and to enjoin him to abstain in future from employing the influence of his authority in anything relating to the free exercise of the religion of any person in the limits marked out by the constitution and the laws."

Formal announcement was made in December of King Alfonso's engagement with his cousin the Princess Mercēdes, daughter of the Duc de Montpensier. The Duc was extremely unpopular in Spain, but the marriage contemplated was one of pure affection—which had not always been the case in royal marriages—and the people accepted the young princess as eminently worthy of their love and homage by reason of her many virtues. Replying to the congratulations of the municipality of Madrid, the king said:—"I receive with gladness the congratulations of Madrid, my native town, as well as that of the future queen. I am certain that your congratulations will also be very agreeable to her. The history of the population of Madrid is mine. I share its joys and its sorrows. I hope that your wishes for the welfare of the throne and the prosperity of the country may be realised" A debate ensued in the Congress, and in the end the marriage was approved by 309 votes against 4, the distinguished orator Señor Castelar abstaining from voting. The marriage was solemnised on the 23rd of January, with a gorgeous ceremonial, and in the presence of an illustrious assembly. One of the most notable episodes of the ceremony was the Duc de Montpensier's refusal (in accordance with old Spanish etiquette) to allow his daughter to kiss his hand, the Queen of Spain being supposed to be elevated above all natural reverence. The queen was presented to the assembled senators and deputies in the Cortes on the 15th of February. In the speech from the throne, the king declared that both he and his consort would devote all the strength and energy they possessed to promote the welfare of Spain, with which they identified all their own aspirations after happiness and their views for the future. The Chamber of Deputies afterwards congratulated the king at the royal palace, and he thanked them earnestly. The young monarch's happiness, however, was all too short-lived. The queen, who had captivated her enemies even by her grace and her winning manners, died within a few months of the marriage we have seen so auspiciously celebrated. The *Times*, dealing with the melancholy event, observed that her influence was a guarantee for her husband's throne, and would possibly have been used, as was likely from her Orleanist origin, in the cause of Liberalism. She attained her eighteenth year on the 24th of June, and two days later she had passed away, expiring in her husband's arms, from gastric fever. The news of her death created a feeling of consternation almost, not only in Madrid, but everywhere. The body was carried to the vaults of the Escurial, passing under the great gate which the royal family of Spain never go through alive On the 16th of July, the king, still overcome by grief, gave audience to the special envoys from foreign courts who went to Madrid to represent their sovereigns at the funeral obsequies of the queen, which took place in the church of San Francisco. The nave, which was occupied by a vast crowd, numbering about four thousand persons, was lighted by four hundred lustres and one thousand candles The service lasted for three hours. Shortly after the funeral the king caused it to be announced that he had decided on having

an immense basilica raised over the remains of Queen Mercēdes A million reals would be deducted annually from the Civil List for the construction of the building, until the time of its completion. The queen-mother, the Duc de Montpensier, and the Princess of the Asturias, also contributed munificently towards the project.

King Alfonso XII. had always been so popular personally with his subjects that an attempt made upon his life in the year 1878 excited feelings of strong indignation amongst the people. He was in the Calle Mayor, Madrid, when the would-be assassin fired a pistol at him His Majesty fortunately escaped unhurt, and the conspirator was seized by the soldiers and hurried off to prison, King Alfonso, meanwhile, being loudly cheered on his way to the palace. The prisoner, in his examination, gave the name of Juan Oliva Moncasi, and declared himself to be a member of the International Society. He added that he had come from Tarragona, his native place, to Madrid, where he arrived about a week before, with the intention of killing the king. The feeling of horror at the attempted crime, and the rejoicing that the king had escaped, were universal. Ministers and foreign representatives crowded to the royal palace to congratulate the king upon his providential escape. A solemn Te Deum was celebrated, at the expense of the Madrid municipality, in the church of Santa Maria, in thanksgiving for the king's escape from assassination; and similar celebrations were held throughout the provinces. This attempt upon his life left the sovereign of Spain more firmly rooted in the affections of his people than before. Another attempt to assassinate his Majesty was made towards the close of 1879, but this also was happily unsuccessful.

The Hapsburgs and the Bourbons have again found a bond of union in the nineteenth century by the second marriage of King Alfonso. Those acquainted with Court diplomacy were in no wise astonished when the announcement was made of his betrothal to the Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria. The marriage took place on the 29th of November, 1879. "The two families which once in their union and relationship were thought to menace Europe, are once more united by marriage The Cardinal Patriarch of the Indies—a functionary whose title, remaining after the meaning of it is gone, recalls at once the most glorious and the most disgraceful events in the annals of Spain—has joined the hands of a Bourbon and a Hapsburg, and there are probably few people in Spain, and certainly not many out of it, who have any reason to wish other than good luck to the union." The ceremony, which took place in the historical church of Atocha, was of a most brilliant character. It is thus described by an eye-witness:—"At 9 o'clock the Archduchess, accompanied by her mother and suite, arrived from the Prado at the Ministry of Marine, which is at the north entrance of the city. They were received by Admiral Pavia and staff with royal honours. A little before 12 the Archduchess left in a gala carriage, accompanied by her mother and aunt, the Archduchess Regnier, with her suite. Salvoes of artillery announced the departure of the king and his suite from the palace, the procession passing Calle Mayor, Puerta del Sol, and Carrera San Geronimo, to Atocha Royal trumpeters and mounted kettle-drummers led the procession, four macebearers followed, then twenty-four magnificent horses from the royal stables, in rich, ancient trappings, led by grooms in State liveries; following these, fourteen State carriages with the grandees of Spain, including the Dukes of Fernan Nunez, Osuna de Granada, Bailen, Sesto, and the Marquis de Molins, ambassador in Paris, next, eleven unique gala carriages of the last century and earlier periods, containing the Marquis Novaliches, and ladies of honour to Queen Isabella and Infantas, chamberlains, and high Court officials; next, a squadron of the Guards, then the members of the royal family." The King's *cortège* was imposing and magnificent.



SIR BARTLE FRERE

THE RIGHT HON. SIR BARTLE FRERE, BART

SIR HENRY BARTLE EDWARD FRERE, Bart., late Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and High Commissioner for Great Britain in Southern Africa, is the son of Mr. Edward Frere, of Clydach, Llanelly, Co. Brecon, and of Mary Ann, eldest daughter and co-heir of James Greene, Esq., of Turton Tower and Clayton Hall, Lancaster, and of Llansantfraid, Co. Monmouth, M.P. for Arundel, 1759. Mr. Frere's family was very numerous, numbering seven sons and five daughters. The fifth son was the eminent man who forms the subject of this article, and whose action at the Cape in 1878-9 engrossed the attention of his countrymen and of the Imperial Parliament. Burke traces his lineage as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century, when Mr. John Frere, third son of Mr. John Frere of Wickham Abbey, settled at Finningham, Suffolk, and purchased lands there. A descendant of this gentleman, Mr. John Frere, F.R.S., F.S.A., of Roydon, Norfolk, and Beddington, Surrey, became high sheriff for the county of Suffolk in 1776, and M.P. for Norwich in 1800. He married the daughter and heir of John Hookham, Esq., and his eldest son was the distinguished diplomatist and political writer, the Right Hon. John Hookham Frere. The last-named gentleman, Mr. Hookham Frere, was the college companion and subsequently intimate friend of the great statesman George Canning, with whom he collaborated on the *Anti-Jacobin Review*. He was M.P. for West Loe, and became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1799. He was appointed envoy to Lisbon in 1800, and was British Minister at Madrid in 1802 and 1808. The subject of our present biography was the nephew of Mr. Hookham Frere, being the son of his younger brother Edward.

Sir Bartle Frere was born in March, 1815, and was educated first at King Edward the Sixth's Grammar School, Bath, and afterwards at Haileybury College. At the early age of eighteen—that is in 1833—he entered the Bombay Civil Service—a service which has been the nursery ground of many men who have subsequently risen to distinction. After passing various grades of promotion, he was in 1847 appointed secretary to Sir George Arthur, then Governor of Bombay. In 1856 we find him British Resident in Scinde, and four years later occupying the important office of Chief Commissioner. When the Indian mutiny broke out Sir Bartle Frere rendered essential service in the preservation of peace in the province over which he was the civil head. The terrible events of that anxious period in the history of our Colonial possessions can never be forgotten, and the valour of the troops and the fidelity of the servants of the British Crown deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance. For his conspicuous services on that critical occasion Sir Bartle Frere was created a K.C.B., civil division; and on two occasions received the direct acknowledgments of Parliament. In the House of Lords, on the 14th of April, 1859, the Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby, moved a vote of thanks to the Governor-General of India, the military commanders and forces, and the civil officers, the name of Bartle Frere appearing fifth upon this honourable list. In the course of his speech the premier observed

that Mr. Bartle Frere's task was not, perhaps, so arduous as that of Sir John Lawrence, as he succeeded to a government in which much had been done before to tranquillise and settle the minds of the natives, and to establish among the wild native tribes the blessings of a good and beneficent government. "But," added his lordship, "to Mr. Frere is due the credit of having supported that system throughout, and of having maintained his province—when a great portion of India was in a state of disturbance and revolt—in a state of entire and unbroken tranquillity; and, my lords, permit me here to say that though the duties performed and the services rendered by these civil officers are not so brilliant and dazzling as those of the military service, they are not less essential to the good government of India. Our hold on India must not depend solely, though it must mainly, on our military force; but the hold maintained by a military force sufficient for its purpose must be strengthened and supported by the respect and esteem which the natives entertain for those who hold all that unlimited authority in those distant provinces." Earl Granville, in seconding the motion, said he knew of nothing which appealed more strongly to the imagination than the manner in which Mr. Frere, amidst a population of some six millions of natives, and supported by but between 100 and 200 Europeans, contrived to maintain perfect tranquillity in the province entrusted to his charge, after denuding himself in every direction of troops, and despatching them to points at which he thought they were more required. Lord Stanley was equally unstinted in his praise in moving the vote in the House of Commons.

At a comparatively early period in life, therefore, Sir Bartle Frere demonstrated that he possessed administrative talents of no common order, and it is not surprising that high anticipations were indulged in as to his future. In the year 1862 he was nominated Governor of Bombay, and on the 5th of September, 1863, he received the chiefs of the Deccan in a great durbar held at Poonah. After a successful governorship he returned to his native country in 1867, when he was created a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Star of India, and was nominated a member of Her Majesty's Indian Council at home. In the course of the same year the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L., and he also became Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society.

Sir Bartle Frere first proceeded to Africa officially in 1872, when he was appointed by the English Government special commissioner to investigate the condition of the slave trade as carried on in the eastern part of the African continent, and to negotiate for its suppression. Prior to his departure on this mission he was entertained by the Royal Geographical Society at a farewell banquet at Willis's Rooms. The president, Sir Henry Rawlinson, in proposing the principal toast, referred in eulogistic terms to his fellow-officer in the Society. Sir Bartle Frere, in acknowledging the compliment, made some general observations affecting his mission. He expressed his belief that there was not one nation that boasted of being a civilised nation which had not sent in to the Foreign Office its adhesion to the efforts which Her Majesty's Government had made, and were making, to put a final stop to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa. He could claim nothing more than a hearty desire to do good in his generation by giving some effect to this very limited effort, which he thought it was a mistake to say would be the extinction of the slave trade, because he feared that as long as human nature remained what it was they would be liable to find the slave trade again showing its head if they did not look after it and keep it down. He believed he might say that the measures which Her Majesty's Government had undertaken were such as would practically entirely disconnect all nations having any pretensions to civilisation from the abominable traffic. And if it remained in after ages it could only be by stealth, and as a thing which would attempt

to raise itself up, whatever might be done by civilised states to put it down. It would be very much like crime in civilised countries, which might never be entirely eradicated, but which might be kept under by the exertions made to suppress it as soon as it exhibited itself. In concluding his address, Sir Bartle Frere uttered the following glowing eulogium upon the great associate of the Geographical Society, David Livingstone —"It is to him, to his persevering efforts through a whole lifetime, that you owe the knowledge which you possess of this great evil, and also, to a great extent, your knowledge of the means by which it may be counteracted. I am afraid that Sir Henry Rawlinson was a little sanguine in hoping that Dr. Livingstone and I might have the pleasure of meeting before I returned from this mission. If I know the Doctor aright, as long as there remains any part of the work that he has undertaken undone, nothing whatever, not even the whole of Her Majesty's Government itself assembled at Zanzibar, would induce him to refrain from honestly and thoroughly completing it. At the peril of his life he will do it, whatever may happen. And it is because I feel that at some humble distance we are all endeavouring to do the work which Livingstone commenced, and which has so long been and is now prospered by this Society—a work which was also the work of our late president, and which, as I can testify from what I have seen, is now the most congenial work of the Council of this institution—it is, I say, because we are doing at a humble distance a small part of that work that I feel we have a guarantee of success. And in returning you my most hearty thanks for the honour you have done me, I can only hope that we may all of us adopt what I believe is the motto of the good Dr. Livingstone, and what has long been the motto of our Indian Empire—'That Heaven's light may be our guide.'"

Sir Bartle Frere, with his suite, sailed in the *Enchantress*, and arrived at Zanzibar on the 12th of March, 1873. He was well received by the Sultan; but two or three days later an uneasy feeling was created in England in consequence of reports describing the mission as a failure. It was said that the Sultan and his Arab chiefs had determined to reject the Treaty, not only for the financial reasons which he had previously put forward as his main objection, but also on the grounds that slavery was a time-honoured institution, sanctioned alike by the Mohammedan religion and ancient custom; that its abolition would lead to insurrection and disaster; and that, moreover, no confidence could be placed in any new treaties. Sir Bartle Frere, however, was successful in overcoming these objections, and in the following May the Sultan of Zanzibar consented to sign a treaty abolishing the obnoxious traffic. The Sultan himself has since shown a desire to abide by the provisions of this treaty; but, as the English Special Commissioner foresaw, slavery has not been entirely suppressed, though efforts are being made to arrest the secret traffic which is still being carried on.

Some reference may be appropriately made here, while dealing with Sir Bartle's efforts for the suppression of slavery, to the deep interest he has taken in the question of the opening up of the continent of Africa to the influences of Christianity, and also to the interest he has displayed in Indian missions. He has for many years been a Vice-President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and in 1874 published a work entitled "Eastern Africa as a Field for Missionary Labour," consisting of four letters addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the first letter the writer discussed the various classes of population, showing the vast numbers of persons who could be readily reached by missionary effort on the east coast. Secondly, he described the various missionary agencies already at work; thirdly, he recapitulated the work to be done; and fourthly,

discussed the means by which it was to be accomplished. The author concluded his treatise with the following general reflections:—"What we saw in Africa confirmed the belief I had always cherished, that there is nothing in the circumstances or the character of the African races to make us despair of their gradual improvement and elevation in the moral, the social, or the political scale. It must be a tedious and very gradual process, often wearying the most patient, and disappointing the most sanguine; but I see no reason to doubt the ultimate result. The most important of all the elements in the change is, I believe, the teaching of Christianity, and it is because I believe our own Church of England holds and prizes among her titles to her allegiance the marks of a truly missionary Church—obeying, however imperfectly, the last injunctions of our Lord on earth—that I venture to address to the primate of that Church these few remarks on the work to be undertaken in East Africa, sincerely believing that nothing more permanent can be done for the amelioration of Africa than that our Church should recognise the duty before her in those distant regions, and strive, by God's blessing, to perform it." These were weighty words, and especially worthy of attention from the personal experience which Sir Bartle Frere had gathered upon the subject of which he wrote. The right honourable baronet also published an equally valuable little treatise upon Indian missions. He inquired into the work which the missions were doing, and into the nature of the difficulties which surrounded them. With regard to British relations towards India, he observed—"We have, as a nation, formidable debtor and creditor accounts of various kinds with India, and it is often difficult to say on which side the net balance lies. But there is one obligation which seems to me to outweigh all others in magnitude and importance, and that is, the obligation to provide for India some substitute for those social ties which are dissolved by the unavoidable action of our rule." And again, as to the immediate and future dangers of India—"There seems to me to be but one gift which imagination could devise, and that is, the gift of those truths which are the real secret of the power we exercise on other nations. They have virtue to bind as well as to loose; to draw together by the bonds of Christian love and brotherhood, as well as to set free from the fetters of Satan. They, and they alone, can render the people of India capable of that degree of self-government which seems the only condition on which India can be retained as a portion of the British Empire, and preserved from falling a prey to intestine discords and the domination of foreign powers whose scourges of scorpions would speedily cast into oblivion the harshest records of British rule. Should it be permitted to England to leave Christian truth as our legacy to the people of Hindostan, our rule there will not lack a memorial more enduring than her ancient kings have graven on her rocks, or her ancient conquerors burnt into the memories of her people."

On the 16th of July, 1874, the freedom of the City of London, in a gold box of the value of 100 guineas, was presented to the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, in recognition of his long and honourable career, and eminent services in India, together with his successful mission for the abolition of slavery on the east coast of Africa. The City Chamberlain having recited the services of the new citizen, Sir Bartle Frere signed the roll of freedom, and addressed the Common Council. Referring to the fact that it was to the East India Company that he owed his training for the service of the State, he observed that if they sent Englishmen to India, the work would make the workmen, and that they would not fail to do their duty there. At the same time he felt that it was a task worthy of the greatest statesmanship of this country to keep up the high standard of efficiency which was so rigidly upheld by the

Company as long as the destinies of the Indian Empire were in their hands. The East India Company would long remain among the most glorious memories and traditions of that great city. The response to the appeal of the Lord Mayor for aid to the famine-stricken sufferers in India was the latest proof that India had a keen hold upon the sympathies and affections of England, and would never be spurned while England existed. With regard to the question of slavery, the young burgess said he could not help feeling that the interest of this country in the matter had not slackened since the days of Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, and Clarkson, and he was convinced that it would never be so while the City of London was in the van. Africa had too long been a blot on the face of the earth, and a disgrace to civilisation, but he trusted that they might hope that better days were in store for it. When they found that Russia, America, Germany, France, and Italy, were all engaged in the same cause of freedom, with England at their head, he believed England had yet before it a destiny of leading the civilised nations of Europe in a great act of liberty and justice for a large portion of the world, and that the horrors which Baker and Livingstone had described would never again be a reproach to mankind. Two years later Sir Bartle Frere again recurred to the subject of slavery, when he addressed the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce on the general question of the civilisation of Africa and the extinction of slavery. He described the proposals of the King of the Belgians, and moved the approval of His Majesty's plan for an international Society for the exploration of Africa for the suppression of the slave trade, and the formation of a Scottish branch of the British National Association. The resolution was carried, and the meeting further agreed to memorialise the Foreign Secretary respecting the opening up of a communication with the African lakes and the coast. A large and influential committee was appointed, and great interest was manifested through the whole of Scotland in the proposals put forth at this meeting.

But the most flattering tribute paid to Sir Bartle Frere—and one of which any Englishman might well be proud—was that implied in the banquet given to him at the Langham Hotel on the 28th of February, 1877, by representatives of Cape and Natal merchants in London, in commemoration of his appointment as Governor of Cape Colony. Mr. Goschen, M.P., presided, and the Prince of Wales sent an expression of regret that, owing to a previous engagement, he was unable to be present; but, in order to show his great respect for the guest of the evening, he desired the Chairman to convey his sentiments to the gentlemen present. In proposing the health of Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. Goschen sketched the principal events in his career. As Commissioner of Scinde he had to encounter difficulties in times of great peril, in times when mutiny raised its head in India; he was afterwards appointed Governor at Bombay, and was subsequently elevated to the Council of India. He had conducted a difficult negotiation in connection with the slave trade on the Coast of Zanzibar; he had accompanied the Prince of Wales in his successful tour in India; and he had been selected by the Marquis of Salisbury and the existing Government to that post to which he was about to succeed with the good wishes of all, in order to fulfil a task worthy of his abilities. Mr. Goschen concluded by repudiating any assertion that might ever have been made that any party in the State was indifferent to the welfare of the Colonies. Sir Bartle Frere spoke with diffidence and admirable spirit of the arduous nature of the duties upon which he had engaged. The Earl of Carnarvon, remarking upon the condition and prosperity of South Africa, expressed a more than confident hope that the task which Sir Bartle Frere had undertaken would be discharged with all that singular ability and success which had distinguished his past career.

The Marquis of Salisbury, in responding for the toast of the House of Lords, observed that almost all the problems which had been alluded to as affecting South Africa, Sir Bartle Frere had had to meet in India and to solve. "We are told that there is a native question in South Africa," said the noble marquis, "but the Government of India is one great native question. He has learned in the best of all schools how to solve that most difficult of all problems, how to enable Englishmen to secure the allegiance of a vast majority of natives by sheer exhibition of statesmanship. He has borne high the standard of England, and nowhere has it been borne up more brilliantly than in India amid barbarians and half-civilised natives, and I venture to predict that when he returns from this task which he has undertaken, he will have done as much to uphold the greatness of the empire of England as he has already done in that great dependency from whose service he unhappily retires."

When our difficulties with Afghanistan broke out the *Times* published, as appropriate to the occasion, a minute written by Sir Bartle Frere in 1874, which gave an interesting and elaborate review of the frontier situation. It was apparent that the minute so precisely sketched the subsequent line of policy which the Marquis of Salisbury and Lord Lytton followed, that it was at once accepted as having been their basis of action.

Sir Bartle Frere speedily discovered that his appointment as High Commissioner in South Africa was no sinecure. Early in 1878 it was supposed that the Galeka rising in Caffraria had been suppressed; but the Gaikas rose immediately afterwards, and this rising was followed by other troubles. A border warfare of a prolonged character ensued. Sir Bartle Frere resolved upon energetic measures, but his policy was not heartily endorsed by his Ministry, who claimed an independent control of the war, which the governor held could not be granted consistently with the public safety. The ministry were consequently dismissed, and a new Cabinet formed, the result of which was that, with the aid of the Imperial troops, Sir Bartle Frere had restored tranquillity in Caffraria by the end of July. Another outbreak of a more serious nature, however, immediately occurred. The troops were urgently required in Natal and the Transvaal, where the Zulu king had for some time been threatening hostilities, and where one of his vassals was actually defying the British rule in arms. Lord Chelmsford, commander of the Queen's forces, found the situation so serious that he called for reinforcements from the home Government, which were duly despatched. In the following December a Boundary Commission sat to adjudicate upon the Zulu claims. The boundary was settled in favour of the Zulus. An ultimatum was sent to King Cetewayo, nevertheless, demanding the surrender of certain chiefs, and imposing a fine of 600 head of cattle. It also required that the Zulu army should be disbanded, that freedom of marriage should be granted to all young men, that the missionaries should be allowed to return, that a Resident should be appointed before whom and the king all disputes with Europeans were to be heard, and that no European should be expelled from Zululand without the consent of the Resident. The Zulu delegates expressed great repugnance to carrying the message, which the inhabitants of Natal considered to be couched in terms much too mild Cetewayo replied that he was willing to give up some of the persons whose surrender was demanded, and to pay the fine imposed upon him. He required time, however, to consider the other conditions, whereupon Sir Bartle Frere announced that no alteration in the terms could be made. No reply having been received from the king, the war commenced with the crossing of the Tugela by the British troops On the 12th of January, 1879, the first engagement was fought, victory remaining with Captain Glyn, the commander of the British forces on that occasion. But this news was speedily followed by the announcement of the terrible disaster

and defeat which overtook the British troops at Isandula, about ten miles from Rorke's Drift. Lord Chelmsford, in a despatch to the Secretary of State for War, stated that the engagement was with a portion of No. 3 column left to guard the camp. The Zulus came down in overwhelming numbers, and completely crushed the force, notwithstanding the gallant resistance made. Scarcely a man escaped. Nearly 900 were killed, including 30 officers. Lord Chelmsford added that the troops were enticed away from the camp, as the action took place about one mile and a quarter outside of it. The loss of the Zulus was computed to be over 2,000. The disaster was attributed to "the folly of taking into the country a baggage train of enormous length." This defeat caused the greatest gloom and consternation, not only in Natal, but throughout Cape Colony. Amongst the actions which occurred demonstrating that English valour was what it had ever been, was the heroic defence by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead at Rorke's Drift. In consequence of the Isandula disaster, Lord Chelmsford proceeded to Pietermaritzburg, where he conferred with Sir Bartle Frere. It was decided that the forces at the command of Lord Chelmsford were insufficient to cope with the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and reinforcements were demanded from England. These were quickly despatched to the scene of war. Colonel Pearson subsequently won a substantial victory over a large force of Zulus at Ekowe. On the 25th of March the Marquis of Lansdowne brought forward in the House of Lords a resolution censuring the Government for its policy in relation to the affairs of South Africa, but this was rejected by 156 to 61. In the House of Commons, a similar debate arose upon the motion of Sir Charles Dilke. The policy of Sir Bartle Frere was strongly attacked, the Opposition laying upon him chiefly the blame for the difficulties which had arisen in South Africa, but the resolution was lost by 306 votes against 246. Notwithstanding the demands of the Opposition, Sir Bartle Frere was still continued in his post as High Commissioner, the Government maintaining that the real question was, not what Sir Bartle had done in the past, but what was the best way of providing for the future interests of the South African Colonies. Another disaster to a detachment of British troops occurred early in March, when a portion of the 80th Regiment was overpowered at the Intombe River by a force of Zulus estimated at 4,000. Forty-one British were killed, including Captain Moriarty. This disaster was more than retrieved, however, by the splendid engagement at Ginghilovo, which resulted in the relief of Colonel Pearson. The Zulus were on this occasion defeated with great slaughter, their losses being reported at nearly 3,000 men.

On the 10th of April Sir Bartle Frere arrived at Pretoria, having had a satisfactory interview previously with the Boers, whose attitude caused considerable anxiety. Replying to an address from them, he said he thought they would see in the promptitude with which reinforcements had been sent out, that no territory over which the British flag once waved was ever abandoned. A large number of the inhabitants of the Transvaal declared, notwithstanding, that nothing short of independence would satisfy them; but Sir Bartle Frere stated that he could neither grant this request nor support it even if it were made to the Home Government. In May Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed the new commander in Natal, and immediately departed for the seat of war. A month later England was startled by the news of the melancholy death of the Prince Imperial, who had been assegaied by a party of Zulus in ambush. On the 4th of July the British gained a decisive victory over the enemy at Ulundi—an engagement which virtually terminated the war. The Zulus suffered terribly, and Ulundi and the neighbouring military kraals were afterwards burnt. Sir Bartle Frere, in a despatch to the Colonial Secretary on the affairs of South Africa generally, and the means to be adopted for the pacification of



the country, declared that the first requisite seemed to him to be a distinct declaration that there was to be no going back from the Act of Annexation—no attempt to abandon the country to the anarchy which prevailed in the Transvaal under the late Republic. Having reported the brilliant victory at Ulundi, Lord Chelmsford now resigned his command. Towards the close of August Major Richard Marter, with a detachment of the 1st Dragoon Guards, captured King Cetewayo. Lord Gifford had been tracking the defeated chief for more than a week, day and night, and at great risks. All the important chiefs having surrendered, despatches were received in England from Sir Garnet Wolseley, announcing a new constitution for Zululand. The country was divided between the independent chiefs, who signed the terms of the constitution. Peace was immediately established throughout Zululand, except in a very small portion of territory in the north; and after a period of deep anxiety, during which his conduct had been severely canvassed, Sir Bartle Frere had the satisfaction of seeing the policy which he had advocated triumphant.

Affairs in the Transvaal, however, again became a somewhat prominent subject of interest early in November, 1879. On the 8th of that month a large and influential deputation, consisting of members of the Colonial Parliament and others, had an interview with Sir Bartle Frere on the subject of the present position and future prospects of the Transvaal. His Excellency, replying to the representations made to him, said that the annexation of the Transvaal was irrevocable, but that when the inhabitants of the country had accepted the situation in which they were placed, they would receive as large a share of self-government as was compatible with their remaining British subjects.

Early in 1880 Sir Bartle Frere's recall was a constant subject of agitation in England, and the matter was widely discussed in the press. Mr. Gladstone, who had now come into power as Prime Minister, announced that Sir Bartle Frere would only remain at the Cape until the scheme of confederation upon which he was engaged, and which he was specially fitted to carry through, had been completed. The proposed plan having failed, however, Sir Bartle Frere was recalled, in pursuance of the previous understanding, and Sir Hercules Robinson was nominated as his successor at the Cape.

In addition to the works already mentioned in the course of this biography, it may be stated that in 1838 Sir Bartle Frere published a "Report on the Nature and Effects of the Thugg Duty." He has also written an admirable memoir of his uncle, prefixed to the complete edition of Mr. Hookham Frere's works published two or three years ago, as well as a pamphlet entitled, "Christianity Suited to all Forms of Civilisation." He delivered a lecture before the Society of Arts in 1873 "On the Impending Bengal Famine: how it will be Met, and how to prevent Future Famines in India," and he has likewise written introductions to a work entitled "Pandurang Hari," and "Old Deccan Days," by Mary Frere. Sir Bartle Frere was married in October, 1844, to Catharine, second daughter of Lieut.-General the Right Hon. Sir George Arthur, Bart., by whom he has issue one son and four daughters.

[*The Portrait accompanying the above Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliot & Fry, 55, Baker Street, London, W.*]

GUSTAVE DORÉ.

THE first occasion on which we had the privilege of beholding one of Doré's larger canvases was at the exhibition of his famous "Le Tapis Vert"—which had attracted so much interest in the *Salon* of 1867. In the autumn of the same year, it was exhibited in an upper gallery of the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. It is true that the London public shortly before this had at the German Gallery, Bond Street, gladly familiarised themselves with that marvellous study of diverse character displayed in his monkish picture of "The Neophyte," with his beautiful group—also life-sized—of "Paolo and Francesca da Rimini," locked lovingly together as they float over the abyss of the Inferno, and with his fine allegorical composition of "The Triumph of Christianity" over the paganism of the antique world, both classic and barbarian. This latter picture attracted largely the serious portion of the public, and the numbers who went to see it proved prophetic of the great popularity which would yet attend the artist, when once he had fairly made up his mind to address himself to Christian themes with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength.

But, although this picture contained many figures, none of them were life-size; and although it was nearly ten feet high and seven feet wide, it could scarcely be called a large canvas. When, however, the great picture of gambling life at Baden-Baden appeared, fourteen feet in height and thirty-one feet in width, with the two croupiers in the centre, and beauty and fashion, innocency and villainy, grave and gay, the young and blooming, and the old and withered, seated round "the green table," busy at *trente et quarante*, and all of life-size, there could be no questioning the magnitude of the scale on which the work was painted, and the critical mind of London was accordingly very much exercised.

The press had been very lavish of its praise in the case of the pictures at the German Gallery, to which reference has just been made; but, what with the subject and what with the size, the critical faculty of the London "pressman" was considerably puzzled by this unblushing "glower" into the goings-on in the palatial *Conversationshaus* or *Spielhaus* at Baden-Baden, and a little coterie was inclined to resent the art-pretensions of the gifted Frenchman. On one occasion this elicited a reproof from the late George Cruikshank, which arose in this wise. The writer of the present biography was pointing out to the caricaturist some of the more famous of the gambling notabilities that crowded the canvas, when these well-worn phrases fell upon his ear—"fearfully crude," "irresistible tendency to blackness," "no daylight whatever," "no sense of colour," and the like. George Cruikshank, whose ire had been gradually gathering, turned to the writer and in clear, decisive accents, said: "They may call him crude and black and colourless if they like, but I say the picture is noble, both in line and composition, full of character, and as satisfying in colour as such a subject need be, and English artists will be big

fools if they do not lay to heart the lessons it teaches. Doré is evidently a man of great original power, and the world of art will have to acknowledge it one day yet." There was instant silence in the hall, and the disparaging coterie left "glooming consumedly," while the ever-youthful Cruikshank passed to his friend a confidential and triumphant wink.

We have been particular to note this little episode in the history of Doré's introduction to the English public, because the criticism to which we have referred contains in its extremest expression whatever exception can be taken to the art-practice of Doré, and because the rejoinder of George Cruikshank is in thorough harmony with the judgment of Doré's admirers, and embodies moreover a prophecy which time has already fulfilled. The Doré Gallery was established the following year, and in 1872 that most absolutely triumphant of all Doré's larger canvases, "Christ Leaving the Prætorium," which had lain safely concealed during the whole of the siege of Paris, was finished and became the crowning glory of the Bond Street exhibition. From time to time other works of the master were added, and the Doré Gallery furnishes the marvellous spectacle of ministering to the æsthetic taste and religious sentiment of never-slackening crowds, and all by the labours of one man.

Paul Gustave Doré was born at Strasburg on the 6th of January, 1833. His father was a civil engineer, and was sent, while the future painter was still a child, to Bourg, the capital of the ancient province of La Bresse, and now *chef-lieu* of the department of the Ain. The infancy of Doré was therefore, René Delorme tells us, under the influence of two striking natural objects, viz., the romantic hills of the Vosges and the grander mountains of the Alps. But he forgets the wonderfully impressive architectural features both of Strasburg and of Bourg.

Most of our readers can, from their personal knowledge of the place, imagine how multitudinously the mind of a child would be filled when gazing from its nurse's arms on the vast pillared aisles of Strasburg Cathedral, enclosing here breadths of brightness, guarding there depths of gloom, while ever and anon shaft and pavement would be alike bathed in all the varied radiancy of transmitted colour characteristic of mediæval glass. Then there was the antique character of the town itself, fossed and bastioned by the genius of Vauban, and containing much picturesque street architecture, with many a quaint mansion, high-peaked as to roof, and with as many dormers as Argus had eyes. Then, within easy vision-range were, on the one hand, the wooded hills of the Vosges looking down upon many a romantic glen; while, on the other, the grand sweep of the Rhine had for its distant background that wavy range of hills which for a hundred miles is clothed by the Black Forest.

Then, as the observant faculties of the child increased, he found himself, when at Bourg, transported to scenes no less impressive and grand, for he was within influence of the everlasting Alps, and could with his own eyes behold the lofty chain of the Jura. Again, within the old town itself the romantic side of his nature would find ample scope. In the Church of Notre Dame, for example, there is a goodly show of sixty-eight carved wood stalls of fine sixteenth-century workmanship, and no lack of architectural quaintness in the town itself. Outside the walls, also, will be found a remarkable example of Late Gothic in the Church of Notre Dame de Brou, founded by Margaret of Austria, Governess of the Netherlands, in 1511, and finished six years after her death, in 1536. The portal in the west front, which is surmounted by three gables, consists of a flattened arch highly enriched with carvings and arabesques. The choir is particularly gorgeous, and the splendours of the shrine are heightened by the play of coloured light which streams through the painted windows. Within the shrine are the superb monuments of Margaret, the founder, of her mother-in-law, Margaret of Bourbon, and in the middle the husband

fools if they do not lay to heart the lessons it teaches. Doré is evidently a man of great original power, and the world of art will have to acknowledge it one day yet." There was instant silence in the hall, and the disparaging coterie left "glooming consumedly," while the ever-youthful Cruikshank passed to his friend a confidential and triumphant wink.

We have been particular to note this little episode in the history of Doré's introduction to the English public, because the criticism to which we have referred contains in its extremest expression whatever exception can be taken to the art-practice of Doré, and because the rejoinder of George Cruikshank is in thorough harmony with the judgment of Doré's admirers, and embodies moreover a prophecy which time has already fulfilled. The Doré Gallery was established the following year, and in 1872 that most absolutely triumphant of all Doré's larger canvases, "Christ Leaving the Prætorium," which had lain safely concealed during the whole of the siege of Paris, was finished and became the crowning glory of the Bond Street exhibition. From time to time other works of the master were added, and the Doré Gallery furnishes the marvellous spectacle of ministering to the æsthetic taste and religious sentiment of never-slackening crowds, and all by the labours of one man.

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of the latter, Philibert le Beau, Duke of Savoy. The choir and Lady Chapel, in short, are as splendid in decoration as coloured marbles, rare wood carvings, and sculptured alabaster can possibly make them, and just of the kind to impress the mind of boyhood. The centre one, for example, of the white marble monuments, and by far the finest of the three, that of Philibert le Beau, just referred to, represents in its lower stage the duke dying, and in its upper the duke dead. The contemplation of such a tomb would not be a bad method for attuning the mind to the study of Dante; and although it is scarcely possible that Doré contemplated illustrating the great Tuscan at this early period of his career, there is little doubt, when he came to peruse the pages of the poet, the recollection of this monumental *memento mori* with its grim duality would still leave a predisposing influence on his mind.

These local and topographical details are necessary to the proper understanding of Doré's genius, because the impressions, physical or mental, made in boyhood's years—say between nine or ten and his early teens—are ineffaceable. One can scarcely doubt that the conditions of his boyhood mightily influenced the pencil of Doré, that his mountain landscape, with its reaches of gleaming water, and his rocky gorges, dominated by strongholds whose battlemented towers bestled over the abyss, were but the pictorial emphasising of early impressions made on his plastic mind in the neighbourhood of "the wide and winding Rhine," or within the shadow of the lofty Jura. Nor must it be forgotten that in those regions there lingered, as there still lingers, the memory of romance, and that in the mouths of high and low the legends of a mystic past, with lovely naiads beguiling fond, admiring mortals unto death, with fire-vomiting dragons and all-conquering knights, were familiar as household words.

It is not known when Doré learned to draw, and he himself is equally ignorant on the subject; but before he was eight years of age he could use his pencil with ease, and when only eleven he designed two pictures, showing at once facility and humour. The one had for its subject the inauguration of David's statue of Bichat, the eminent anatomist, and the other represented a boys' slide on the slope of the walk called the Bastion. He entered the Lycée or grammar school of Bourg, preceded by his reputation of draughtsman, and his masters had the sense not to thwart his vocation. They allowed him to draw in his copy-books, and place pictorial annotations on the margins of his grammar. Once, in a composition of verse—according to Delorme, who tells the story—Doré gave the professor, by way of translation, a drawing representing with rigorous exactitude the murder of Clitus. While solecisms abounded in the copies of his little comrades, Doré had alone thoroughly understood and rendered with correctness the scene described by the historian; and M. Grandmottet, the professor, did not hesitate to give Gustave the first place.

To encourage the boy to work, his father promised to take him to Paris, provided he obtained prizes at the end of his quarter. The boy received his laurels and departed, taking in his box sundry portfolios. As soon as he descended at the hotel, he escaped and presented himself all alone to the editor of the *Journal pour Rire*, whose office was situated in the Place de la Bourse. Judge of the surprise of Philippon, exclaims Delorme, when the little schoolboy showed him a remarkable set of drawings, among which was a series of "The Labours of Hercules." "Who did this?" "'Twas I, sir." Very surprised, the editor talked with the little fellow, who told him how he had seen a number of the *Journal pour Rire* at Bourg, and how he had escaped from the hotel to come and present himself. He confided also to him his great desire to stay in Paris to study drawing and become an artist, and he feared that he would be taken back to Bourg, because his father found education too expensive in the schools of Paris.

Philippon was an excellent man and listened attentively to the little scholar, and then said to him, "Leave me your drawings, return to your parents, who are no doubt anxious, and ask your father to come and see me. I believe all you desire could be realised."

An hour afterwards Philippon declared to the father of Doré that the vocation of the child appeared really extraordinary—that on no account must he leave the precincts of the Museum of the Louvre; and, that things might be made easy and pleasant, he would publish "The Labours of Hercules," assuring him at the same time that the price of these drawings and those that Gustave Doré could make would suffice amply to pay for his schooling at the Charlemagne.

This incident occurred in the autumn of 1847, when the boy was about fourteen, and finally led to his remaining in Paris. He stayed with a friend of his mother, Madame Hérouville, who lived in the Rue St. Paul, two steps from the college.

His new professors were as kindly considerate and accommodating as those at Bourg. When M. Girard, who taught the students history, had described to them the character and more salient points of a Roman Emperor, he generally ended his lesson by saying, "Doré, go to the board and make a portrait of Nero, that these gentlemen may understand properly what I am saying." M. Berger was another of Doré's eminent professors, who rejoiced in his genius and did all he could to foster it.

Besides such spontaneous work as from time to time rejoiced the eyes of his appreciative professors, the pencil of Doré during those student days was regularly employed by his friend, M. Philippon, in producing illustrations for *La Caricature*, and the *Journal pour Rire*. These and his subsequent designs to Balzac's "Contes Drôlatiques," helped much to make his name familiar in the art-world, and to lay the foundation of his great reputation.

In the meantime came the days of June, 1848, and the impressionable Doré, taking up his post in the Street of St. Paul, assisted at the insurrection of the Faubourg Saint Antoine. What drew him to this volcanic quarter, however, with its turbulent inhabitants, its improvised barricades, shootings and massacres, was not politics, which have little significance for him, but the terrible spectacle of contending bodies of men animated by the deadliest passion. Here, indeed, was a school for studying the live model, both singly and in groups. The play of muscle, whether in grimy face or bared arm, was to be seen under almost every conceivable attitude; and while the war of revolution went on, Doré was swift to take advantage with his pencil of its ever-varying phase, and to lay up for future artistic use the knowledge of how humanity conducted itself when loosened from all conventional restraints and thrown back on the primeval instincts of strife, bloodshed, and self-preservation. It was doubtless under such circumstances that his marvellous faculty for tumultuous grouping was first quickened into active exercise.

From 1848 to 1852 Doré, according to Delorme, studied with much assiduity and courage whatever belonged to the technique of painting, and in 1853 or 1854 he exhibited for the first time two pictures, viz., "The Family of the Mountebanks," and "The Thriving Child and the Sickly Child." The first was a picturesque composition. The second had for subject the meeting of two mothers, one of whom leads triumphantly a little one with fresh, round, rosy cheeks, and the other carries in her arms a poor, thin, puling infant. The touch of nature in the picture lies in the mournful look of envy which the second mother throws at the first.

In spite, however, of his wish to prosecute his study of painting, the young artist was turned from his easel by the continual and ever-increasing demand for his drawings. The editors of the *Journal pour Tous*, the *Journal pour Rire*, the *Musée Français-Anglais*, besieged his door. Auguste Bry came to beg him to assist in the illustration of his romances.

Whilst giving way, therefore, to their wishes, Doré resolved not to abandon the palette. He accordingly divided his time, and gave one half to drawing and consecrated the other to painting. It is to this period that his illustrations of Rabelais, the "Contes Drôlatiques" and the "Légendes Populaires," belong; and one's admiration rises into perfect wonder in remembering that those designs were conceived by an artist only two-and-twenty years of age. Rabelais had never before found a draughtsman worthy of his genius.

At the Universal Exhibition of 1855 Doré was represented by three pictures—"La Bataille de l'Alma," "Le Soir," and "La Prairie." He would have exhibited a fourth, "Riccio," but there was no room for it. Of this work both Théophile Gautier and Edmond About had a high opinion, and said at the time that it would have been an undoubted success had it been shown. They prophesied of him great things for the future, and time has placed its *imprimatur* on every word they wrote.

It was during the Crimean war, 1854-6, that he projected and carried out a monthly journal, which his friend Philippon published, entitled *Musée Français-Anglais*. It appeared simultaneously in France and England, and contained pictures from the pencil of Doré of the chief events of the war. To the same period belongs his "Comic History of Russia," abounding in cuts of the most grotesque and farcical kind.

In 1856 the English public was introduced to a version of the old French romance of "Jaufry the Knight and the Fair Brunissende: a Tale of the Times of King Arthur," to which Doré had contributed twenty pictures as full of the glamour of romance as the text of his original; and the folio publication of "The Wandering Jew," brought out the following year, was still more imaginative, weird-like, and startling. But the full height of his fame as an illustrator was not reached till the publication of his illustrations to Dante's "Inferno," which appeared in Paris in 1861, and were re-issued in this country by Messrs Cassell, Petter and Galpin in 1866. French and English art-lovers became familiar with the "Purgatorio" and "Paradiso," issued by the same publishers in 1868. "The number of Dante designs," says Mr. Ollier, "is over 136—an astonishing number, considering their excellence, their variety, the extraordinary height and range of their conceptions, and the pictorial elaboration of their handling."

But, strange to say—and the fact has never been noticed by any of his biographers—the "Inferno," the first of this truly magnificent and original series, was declined by one of the most eminent firms in Paris. When Doré took his drawings to the publisher, and proposed his undertaking the publication of the work, he was assured with a smile of well-bred commiseration that there was not the slightest chance of its proving profitable. M. Doré, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose, and proposed to have the work published at his own risk. In vain the publisher, as a friend, tried to dissuade him from such an undertaking, assuring him that he was certain to lose his money—that there would be no demand for Dante with such large designs. His arguments were all in vain. Doré, like all great men, had a belief in himself. The book was published, took the world by storm, and the edition was exhausted in a few days. The "Inferno" contained seventy-six drawings, and the "Purgatorio" and "Paradiso" sixty.

On the 15th of August, 1861, Gustave Doré was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour; and two years afterwards, in 1863, he produced his "Don Quixote." Its 370 drawings so enhanced the text of Cervantes that, in referring to this edition, the glory of the great Spaniard is merged in that of the Frenchman, and we invariably say, "Doré's Don Quixote."

At the request of Messrs. Hachette and Co., the publishers of the works just enumerated, he produced forty-four works for Chateaubriand's "Atala," forty-eight large compositions and 250 heads of pages for the Fables of La Fontaine, 300 engravings illustrating Spain, 150 doing a like service for London, forty designs for Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," and thirty-six for Tennyson's "Idylls of the King." To the illustration of these multitudinous subjects he brought a vividness and fecundity of imagination, a readiness and spontaneity of pencil, unequalled in the whole history of art.

And yet these by no means represent all that Doré has done. In 1866 appeared the Holy Bible, with nearly 250 illustrations, which has been fitly described as "the culminating and vastest work of the artist's life as a work of illustration." The production of these engravings occupied M. Doré no less a period than four years, and the cost of drawing and engraving alone amounted to more than £15,000. In the same year was completed the edition of Milton executed expressly for Messrs. Cassell, Petter and Galpin Various other works have also been produced since, illustrating writings of standard authors, both English and French. He does not know himself how many designs he has made in his lifetime. Several years ago a collector in Paris, who was eagerly seizing all he could get of his published sketches, had then ascertained that there were over 20,000 in existence.

Turning to Doré's paintings, captious critics, because his intellect is so creative and his hand so ready, are apt to speak of them as transient affairs that had been dashed off without either thought or care. He very reasonably complains that in this respect people do him an injustice. "Do they think," he will say, "that I can paint such subjects as 'Christ Leaving the Prætorium,' 'The Night of the Crucifixion,' the 'Francesca da Rimini,' or any of my pictures without much conscientious labour? Let them try to make a *mere outline* on a large canvas themselves, and they will then have some idea of what the *painting* of such canvases means."

Those, on the contrary, who know Doré are aware that he is a man of the most unflagging mental activity, and regards *life* and *work* as great realities, and no one was ever more vividly impressed with the force of what Hippocrates said about life being short and art long than Doré. When the lighter hours of relaxation and recreation are over—and he is as full of animal spirits as a boy—he will often resume his work at his drawings and sketches, and labour far into the early morning. His patience and fastidiousness are remarkable. His grand etching of "The Neophyte," for example—which, by the way, is among the largest plates in existence, and will one day be prized as one of the rare things in art—was the source of endless trouble. He made *eleven* etchings of this subject before he was satisfied with the twelfth! His friends thought it mere wanton fastidiousness to destroy plate after plate, especially as many of them were very successful; but Doré thought no labour too great to satisfy himself.

And yet Doré has by nature many gifts invaluable to an artist. His memory, for instance, is as vivid and trustworthy as that of the late Horace Vernet. Beautiful forms or scenery fasten on him with a surprising tenacity. Without effort he can recall and portray with almost magical accuracy a landscape or a face he has only once previously seen. He has been known to do this repeatedly. His power of observation and perception is indeed great. His inception of forest subjects comes to him sometimes with the spontaneity and rapidity of inspiration. His friend, Mr. Beeforth, to whom we are indebted for several particulars concerning the painter, has seen him start up, ask for pencil and paper, and in a minute or two produce a sketch suggesting a vast amount of composition, and then idea after idea would follow and be depicted

with the same marvellous rapidity. The first idea of some of the most celebrated works in the Doré Gallery has been imitated by him in this manner.

It is in this gallery that the genius of Doré can be most adequately grasped. It was opened in 1869 with the principal works removed from the German Gallery, with such additions as that fine piece of painting representing his dear friend "Rossini, after Death," "La Prairie," "Diana," &c. These were followed in subsequent years by "The Christian Martyrs," "Christ Leaving the Prætorium," "The Night of the Crucifixion," "La Psalterion," "Alsace," "Andromeda," "The Brazen Serpent," "The Dream of Pilate's Wife," "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem," and many landscapes commemorative of his visits to Scotland and other regions amenable to art. The "Ecce Homo," subsequently added, was in the *Salon* of 1879, along with his magnificent canvas of "Moses before Pharaoh," a later production being "The Death of Orpheus," which adorned the Paris Exhibition of 1879.

The touching picture called "Alsace," showing two Alsatian women and a child, is now the property of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts; his "Jephtha's Daughter" was purchased for a Jewish synagogue in America; and his "La Psalterion," a graceful figure of a Spanish page carelessly playing a lute, but more highly finished than is usual with the artist, was purchased by the Queen, and is now among the art-treasures of Windsor Castle.

Within the space at our command it would be impossible to give anything like an adequate critical exposition of the art-merits of these vast canvases. It may be generally remarked, however, that, though his colouring has not the defiant brilliancy of Makart, it is true to its own key-note, and in scheme perfectly consistent throughout; that, though his draughtsmanship may not always possess the academic severity of Ingres and his school, it is never positively weak, and always possesses the charming quality of *vraisemblance*.

If, then, Doré fails to combine on his canvases, as Tintoretto did before him, "the design of Michael Angelo with the colouring of Titian," wherein does his great strength lie? It lies very much where it did in Tintoretto's case, viz., in his wonderful knowledge of effect, in the massing and contrasting of light and dark, and especially in the brilliancy and wealth of his imagination and the impetuous bravura of his brush.

The inventive faculty of Doré is simply unrivalled, and his pencil in its creative character is most assuredly the first in Europe Like all geniuses worthy of the name, he is many-sided, and in his case the word *artist* must be applied in its broadest sense. Years before etching had become the fashionable rage it is, Doré had produced his famous plate of "Rossini, taken after Death," so vigorous, yet withal so tender and beautiful, that it has rarely been equalled. To the plate of his "Neophyte," which is perhaps the finest piece of colour and characterisation Doré ever painted, we have already alluded.

In wood-engraving he has raised up quite a school in Paris. He has the entire control over these gentlemen—*in fact, he employs them.* They say that, when they please him, *no* man is kinder or more liberal than he; but he rejects and destroys all work that does not satisfy him, and to the grief of his soul the engraver has to commence his labour over again.

Again, as a sculptor, Doré does more than bid fair for fame. By such works as his plaster group of "Fate and Love" in the *Salon* of 1877, his "La Gloire" of 1878, and his "L'Effroi" of 1879, he has already achieved it. Indeed, his "La Gloire"—the second group of sculpture he ever executed—occupied the place of honour in the *Salon* of 1878; for it was the most poetical and most touching group of the year. A youth personifying Genius or Glory



M HYACINTHE LOYSON

is being stabbed to the heart by Fame, who hides her dagger in the laurels with which she has wreathed him. There is an eternal and terrible truth in this manner of setting forth the price that has to be paid for "the look of Fame."

Doré is, moreover, an amateur musician. He was, as we have seen, the intimate friend of Rossini, but he is none the less an admirer of the music of Beethoven; he sings well, plays well on the violin and piano, and in all his social qualities and accomplishments, from talking to conjuring, he is simply charming; and one can easily imagine how his great studio—said, indeed, to be the largest in Paris—and his musical *soirées* are the frequent haunt of the rank and fashion and intellect of the age. He was a favourite with Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie, and on more than one occasion designed and directed what in Ben Jonson's time would have been called their masques and revels.

Some years ago one of the London daily papers said he was "as clever as a musician as he was a painter." This public announcement of what is not the case was for some time a source of annoyance to Doré, as he was frequently asked on the faith of this paragraph to give an example of his powers, with the expectation, of course, on the part of those making the request, of hearing something more than ordinarily fine. But his accomplishments in this respect are simply as we have stated. The musical gift, however, is in the family; for his elder brother, Ernest, is a well-known composer.

In stature Doré is rather under than over the middle height; but then he is broad-shouldered and firmly knit. His complexion is fresh and fair, his eyes dark, quick and penetrating. There is a peculiar upward and defiant pose about the air and set of his massive head. Though no stranger to the love of laughter and the joys of life, the mirthful mood is by no means always present. When it does come it is frequently with a bound and a start, and is likely to be succeeded as suddenly with thoughts serious and grave. Of the two moods, however, the general mental and especially physical conformation of the man shows a predisposition towards the bright and active in life.

Doré several times attempted the ascent of the Matterhorn, and on one occasion he climbed outside to the summit of Rouen (or, according to some authorities, of Strasburg) Cathedral. One with activities of this kind is scarcely likely to suffer from ennui or hypochondria. The multitudinous moral and intellectual facets of which the man is formed enable him to reflect and reproduce not only all kinds and conditions of men, but all manner of moods and fashions and times, from the gross animalism and vulgar wants of Sancho Panza to the weird sorrows of the Wandering Jew. La Fontaine and Dante, Rabelais and Milton, all that is glorious in legend, tender in poetry, or sublime in Holy Writ, all that is lovely in the field or awe-impressing in the lightning-scathed crag, come readily to his call, and whatever drawbacks the hypercritical may attach to the practice of the artist, he still remains the most universal, if not the greatest, pictorial expresser the world has yet seen.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott and Fry, 55, Baker Street, London, W.*]

M. Hyacinthe Loyson.

AS Dr. von Döllinger is the greatest theologian of the century, so M. Hyacinthe Loyson is its greatest orator. In Paris, in Geneva, in Rome, in London, in America he has stood, and he stands, first—before Wilberforce and Magee, before any sacred orator or eloquent speaker in France, Switzerland, Italy, England, or America—the heir, as well as the successor, of Lacordaire. The gifts and qualities which go to make up an orator such as Loyson are manifold. The imagination of the poet, the discursive power of the logician, the learning of the historical student, an intimate acquaintance with the philosophical, social, religious, and moral questions of the day, an intense sympathy with his generation—these are the previous conditions of a great orator; and then comes the special oratorical gift—the lightning glance over the treasures accumulated for use, the instinctive selection and fearless grasp of the weapon that will deal death or ward off injury, of the fact or thought which will work conviction or instil doubt, and the marvellous power of clothing the dry bones with living flesh and blood, and filling out the gaunt and repelling form of truth into the rounded proportions and gracefully flowing lines which will win for it love and admiration. An orator such as the subject of our biography must be a great deal more than an orator.

Charles Jean Marie Loyson, connected by family ties both with Brittany and Savoy, was born at Orléans on March 10, 1827. His father occupied a high position in the French civil service, and his uncle, from whom he derived his name of Charles, distinguished himself as the possessor of poetical gifts of no mean order. He spent his childhood and early youth at Pau, where he was educated carefully and religiously under the eye of his father, who held the office of "Recteur" of the Academy in that city.

When he was seventeen, a deep spiritual impression was made upon him, which, if he had belonged to a different school of theology, would have been called his conversion. Its effect has, probably, never been effaced. One evening in Whitsun week he entered a church in Pau where vespers were going on, and the psalm "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity" was being sung. The majestic harmony of the music entered into his soul, while the words fell upon his ear as a message which he had been waiting for. Love! Unity! how good, how joyful! fragrant as ointment, fresh as the dew! "for there"—in love, in unity (so the lesson was borne in upon him)—"there the Lord promised His blessing, and life for evermore." "I know not," he said thirty years afterwards, "whether there were tears in my eyes, but I am certain that they were streaming and overflowing in my heart. I had understood not only human love in its purity, but love in its sublimest realisation—the fellowship of souls in God and in Jesus Christ." On that day an ideal unrolled itself before the boy's ardent imagination, which the man has never ceased to cherish and aim at, by whatever different courses he has sought to attain it.

In 1846 Loyson passed from Pau to Paris just as the political storm was gathering which in two years' time was to shatter thrones, and once more change the face of Europe. During the whole of the stirring period from 1846 to 1851 he was pursuing his studies at St. Sulpice. But no seminary, even in France, was hedged about with barriers high enough to shut out the echoes of the great events that were shaking the political and ecclesiastical framework of the world. In 1847 Mastai Ferretti was appointed Pope, and inaugurated his Pontificate by that attempt at uniting liberal sentiments with the Papal claims which his experiment was for ever to prove impossible. Young and enthusiastic hearts everywhere were on the side of Pius IX. in that first year of his reign. And for a moment—the moment when Loyson's character was being formed at St. Sulpice—liberal Catholicism appeared to be the panacea for the ills of mankind. So preached Montalembert, Ozanam, De Falloux, De Broglie, Lacordaire; and so taught the not yet infallible Pontiff, while he dreamed of a united, liberal Catholic Italy, at the head of which he was to dictate faith, laws, and manners to a willing world. The bubble burst while the young student was still in his college. The murder of Rossi, the flight of Pope Pius, the installation of the triumvirs; and then the French expedition under Oudinot, the breach of the walls of Rome at the Porta di St. Pancrazio, the triumvirate of cardinals, the return of the Pope, bore witness that Italy, Rome, and the Papacy were once more handed over to the Jesuits, while in France the fall of Louis Philippe, the murder of Archbishop Affre, and the excesses of the Communists, showed that the time was not yet come when France could bear either constitutional or republican liberty.

In 1851, while the waters were still seething after the storms of 1848-49, Loyson was ordained priest. "Here," he said long afterwards in Notre Dame, "here on the day of my ordination in the nave of this cathedral, as I lay prostrate on its cold pavement with burning, throbbing heart, the thought that sustained, that entranced me, was the thought that I should have henceforth but one love, one service, the kingdom of God in man." Perhaps no one has more fully realised throughout his life that while he was a man, with sympathies and yearnings wide as mankind and all-embracing as the atmosphere of the globe, he was also a priest of God, called by God to do a definite work for Him, and endowed by Him at his ordination with special powers given to him for the purpose of enabling him to do that work. In his Conferences of 1878 he says, "He who in the deep convictions and ardent sacrifices of his youth, in spite of all personal interests, and rising above all purely human motives, has offered himself to the cause of God and to the salvation of his brethren; he who has lain sobbing in the dust upon the pavement of the temple, and has arisen, touched by the prelate, under that electric shock which traverses the ages and proceeds forth from Jesus Christ, such an one knows he is a priest, as well as he knows that he is a man. He bears within him the Catholic priesthood, just as he carries about with him human nature, and it is no more possible for him to doubt the one than the other."

The young Abbé's studies in theology did not cease with his ordination. He had been fortunate in his instructor at St. Sulpice—the Abbé Baudry; now he had to teach others, in teaching whom he taught himself. Five years succeeding his ordination were spent by him as Professor of Theology at Avignon and Nantes—Avignon, by its buildings and its history, necessarily awakening in so keen and clear a mind an "obstinate questioning" whether the Papacy was indeed the divinely appointed centre of Christendom; and Nantes, by its very name, suggestive, to one who hated persecution, of thoughts little favourable to the theory or practice of the Church of Rome. His mind having been stored with theology and

strengthened by a knowledge of ecclesiastical history, the Abbé returned to Paris and attached himself to the parish of St. Sulpice. Here he remained only one year before consummating what then appeared to him to be the highest act of self-renunciation. He took the monastic vows, and became a Barefooted Carmelite.

The Carmelite rule having for its object not only meditation but preaching, the Abbé's talents were not lost to the church. M. l'Abbé Loyson became Père Hyacinthe, and Père Hyacinthe became the first preacher of the Gallican Church. For Monseigneur Darboy was now Archbishop of Paris, and Darboy knew and appreciated the high qualities of Loyson. The Conferences of Notre Dame had won world-wide reputation in the hands of Lacordaire, but since his voice had been silent, there had been none to re-awaken its echoes, or to fill the Cathedral with the crowds that flocked to hear the great Dominican. This task Archbishop Darboy committed to Père Hyacinthe. Five courses of Conferences were held by him in 1864–68, on God, Religion, the Family, the Nation, the Church. The pen of a writer, now bitterly hostile to him, has given the following description of one of these Conferences. "An enormous crowd pressed into the old cathedral to hear a monk announce the Word of God. The nave, side-aisles, and chapels were overflowing with auditors. In the choir on a daïs of velvet sat the Archbishop, in his berretta, purple robe, and rochet, surrounded by his clergy and the chapter. There was round us a current of elevation and grandeur. Presently, coming from the further end, there appeared a monk in brown woollen robe and white cloak, with the monastic tonsure on his brow, and his feet bare. He slowly advanced to the Prelate, knelt down and received his blessing. Then with slow steps and lowered eyes he crossed the space to the pulpit. The crowd bent low and reverently before the monk, admiring his character, and honouring his poverty. For two hours men thought themselves transported into another world. His burning words threw the mind into a whirl impossible to analyse or to describe. When we were again in the streets of Paris, it was as if one had come out of a dream where moved the phantoms and visions of vanished ages."

But the zealous friar, while he had won the love and admiration of thousands, had been laying up for himself the hatred of a faction that never forgives and never spares. It had been noticed that in an address to a club he had allowed that the Revolution of 1789 had been a necessity: in one of his Conferences he had spoken of "the Pharisaical blindness of priests, who have charge of the letter and think that the less they explain it the safer they keep it," and the consequent "predominance of formula over truth, of outward works over inward righteousness, of external rites over religious feeling:" he had written in terms of reprobation of "certain Catholics who lament the loss of the Inquisition and the Dragonnades:" he had said that "the ancient political organisation of Catholicism in Europe was falling to pieces," at which Pope Pius, taking it as aimed at the Temporal Power, fell into so great a passion as to exclude Père Hyacinthe by name from a blessing bestowed on the rest of the Order; and finally, at the International Peace Congress in Paris in 1869, the Père had spoken of "three religious communities, Judaism, Catholicism, Protestantism," which in the eyes of the Ultramontanes was "crucifying the Catholic Church between two thieves." Violent accusations against him were transmitted to Rome; and Rome listened to them with willing ears. For these things were the bubbles on the surface indicative of a profound hostility on the part of the eloquent Carmelite to the Ultramontane sentiments prevailing at Rome, which "an insolent and aggressive faction" had resolved should prevail throughout the Roman Communion. It was the year 1869, and the Roman Catholic world was already divided into two camps—the

Infallibilists, led by the Jesuits, and Anti-Infallibilists, consisting of the remains of the old Gallican party in France, the Teutonic churchmen, and a few learned men—*rari nantes in gurgite magno*—from America, Hungary, and elsewhere. Father Hyacinthe was a power in France, and which side he would take was of vast importance to the two factions contending for the liberty or the slavery of the Roman Communion. Hyacinthe had made his choice, and no *ménagement* was possible with so candid, so simple, so courageous a man. As he could not be bribed or intimidated, he had to be silenced. The General of the Carmelites turned short round on his subordinate and forbade him to write letters, or make addresses, or attend the Chambers, or be present at any but exclusively Catholic and religious meetings, desiring him to confine his utterances to ministrations in the churches and to avoid controversy. What was the Père to do? In his conscience he felt that he was bound to lift up his voice against what he believed with Darboy, Dupanloup, Montalembert, Gratry, Maret, Döllinger, Strossmeyer, Kenrick, Hefele, and the rest of the moderate and learned party in the Church, to be destructive of the Catholic faith and of ecclesiastical discipline; but on the other hand he was bound by his monastic vow of Obedience. He did not hesitate as to his duty. On September 20, 1869, he wrote to the General of his Order, declaring that he must leave his convent.—

"It is a solemn moment. The Church is passing through one of the most violent, obscure, and decisive crises of her existence on earth. For the first time for 300 years an Œcumenical Council is not only summoned, but declared necessary—these are the words of the Holy Father. It is not in such a time as this that a preacher of the Gospel, were he the last of all, can consent to be silent, like the dumb dogs of Israel, those unfaithful watchmen, whom the prophet reproaches with being unable to bark, *canes muti non valentes latrare*. The saints have never held their peace; I am not one of them, but, nevertheless, I know myself to be descended from them, *filii sanctorum sumus*, and my ambition has always been to place my steps, my tears, and, if need be, my blood where they have left theirs. I raise my protest, then, before the Holy Father and the Council, as a Christian and a priest, against these doctrines and practices, which call themselves Roman, but are not Christian; which by their encroachments, constantly more and more audacious and deadly in their results, are tending to change the constitution of the Church, the substance as well as the form of its teaching, and even the spirit of its piety. I protest against the impious and mad divorce which people are striving to accomplish between the Church, our eternal mother, and the society of the nineteenth century of which we are the sons in time, and towards which we have also duties and affections. I protest against the still more radical and frightful antagonism to the nature of man, which is wounded and revolted by these teachers in its most indestructible and holiest aspirations. I protest above all against the sacrilegious perversion of the Gospel of the Son of God Himself, the letter and spirit of which are both trampled under foot by the Pharisaism of the new law. My firm conviction is that if France in particular, and the Latin race in general, are delivered over to social, religious, and moral anarchy, the principal cause is, not certainly in Catholicism, but in the way in which Catholicism has been for a long time understood and practised."

He goes on to appeal from the Council then assembling, if its deliberations should not be free, to another Council, "really assembled in the Holy Spirit, and not in the spirit of party, really representing the universal Church, not the silence of some, and the oppression of others." "And, in fine, I appeal to Thy Tribunal, O Lord Jesus! In Thy presence I write these lines, at Thy feet, after long prayer, long reflection, long suffering, long waiting, at Thy

fect I sign them. I am confident that if men condemn them upon earth, Thou wilt approve them in Heaven. That is enough for me in life and in death"

On the same day the Père wrote to the Archbishop of Paris, announcing that he could not preach the approaching Conferences at Notre Dame, as his words were no longer free, and expressing his sorrow at "grieving the heart of a bishop who, during five years of difficult toil, had been constantly a father, and he ventured almost to say, a friend." The Archbishop was urged to issue a condemnation of him, but he nobly refused. "Father Hyacinthe," he said, "must be in much suffering at the present moment; and it is not well to stamp upon men who suffer. I would not do it to any one, and still less to him, with whom I desire to retain affectionate relations" Bishop Dupanloup, who had not the courage of the Carmelite friar, nor the tenderness of Archbishop Darboy, nor the simplicity of both one and the other, was restrained by no such considerations. It was his pen that first condemned his *cher confrère*, in a letter dated September 25, which found its way to the public journals as soon as to the person addressed. The General of his Order wrote from Rome sternly telling him that if he left his convent he would incur the greater excommunication, and giving him ten days in which to repent. The ten days elapsed, and the ex-Carmelite sailed for America. But he did not yet regard himself as having finally broken with his monastic life, still less with his Church. He declared that he remained faithful to his Church, and that "if he had lifted up his voice against the excesses which were dishonouring her and would destroy her, the intensity of his love might be measured by the bitterness of his cry of pain." In the spring of 1870 he returned to Paris, and on the declaration of the doctrine of Infallibility he published a protest against the dogma and against the Council. Having taken this step he wrote to the Head of the Carmelite Order to say that, having fulfilled the duty for the performance of which it had been necessary to leave his convent, he earnestly desired to resume his monastic life; and would do so in all docility, provided that he was not required to retract his protests of 1869 or 1870. His letter received no reply. At the end of the same year he published in London an "Appeal to Catholic Bishops," framed somewhat on the model of Rosmini's "Five Wounds of the Church." Next spring (1871) he proceeded to Rome, where his first step was to petition Monseigneur de Mérode for a private audience of the Pope, "in order that he might open to him all his soul which had suffered much." The audience was refused, whereupon he wrote to De Mérode:— "Once the Good Shepherd went after the wandering sheep and brought it back tenderly on His shoulders; now the wandering sheep (since you regard me as such) comes to find the shepherd, and you repulse it. What a difference between the Gospel and the Vatican!"

This visit to Rome was not without its effect on the Père's mind positively as well as negatively. While the harshness of Vaticanists in the very heart of the Roman Catholic world repelled him, he came to a better knowledge than before of the principles of the Anglican Church. The Anglican communion has for some years had the advantage of having for one of its representatives at Rome, the Rev. Dr. Nevin, American Chaplain and Rector of St. Paul's Church. Père Hyacinthe's acquaintance with Dr. Nevin was now drawn close enough to prepare the way for the ecclesiastical relation which was hereafter to be entered into between them, and which now exists. There were also residing in Rome at the time Scottish and English clergymen, into whose company the Père found himself a good deal thrown. One of these was the late Bishop of Argyle, whose courtesy and kind-heartedness impressed him in contrast with Monseigneur de Mérode's harshness. Another was the secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society, who supplied him, at his request, with French and Italian publications

issued by that society during the last quarter of a century for the purpose of explaining the principles of the Anglican Church. These publications the Père studied with care and growing sympathy, being particularly struck with their devotional character as well as their orthodoxy. In after years this brought forth its fruit.

In 1868 the Père had converted from a form of American Puritanism (not from the American Church) a lady named Emily J. Merriman, a widow with one son. At this time she was working in Rome with great ardour at the task of establishing International schools for the daughters of the Roman nobles, who had no longer the opportunity, if they had the will, to send their children to convents for their education. Père Hyacinthe and Madame Meriman, interested in the same cause, and acquainted with the same persons, were naturally thrown much together, and what she was to him at this critical period of his life may be seen by the dedication addressed to her which he prefixed to his volume of "Letters, Fragments, and Speeches," published in the summer of 1872:—"As to myself, how shall I ever forget what you have been for me? When that empty blank was made round me, that blank of the soul, which must be felt for its horror to be appreciated, you remained with me in my darkness almost the only one of all my friends, and with an assurance firmer and more joyous than theirs or mine you never failed to make us feel that there was light." In September, 1872, he was married to this lady. The French laws not permitting the marriage to take place in France except on the condition of his renouncing his clerical character, the marriage took place in London at a Registrar's office, in the presence of the Dean of Westminster and Lady Augusta Stanley and the rector of the parish in which the Registrar's office was situated. He likewise received a benediction on his marriage from a Roman Catholic bishop. In taking this step he knew that he was braving the prejudices of his countrymen, who being brought up by a celibate clergy to regard marriage as at best a necessary means of propagating the human species and a remedy for greater evils, forget, in spite of French chivalry, that in its noblest aspect it is an institution of God for the greatest help and comfort that man can give to woman, and woman to man. He knew, too, that he was laying himself open to a false imputation of motives, which his foes would take advantage of to the utmost, and that in the judgment of graver and more sober men there would be something to explain on the score of his vows of celibacy. Once for all, to make reply to objections, he wrote a dignified "Lettre sur mon Mariage" (Sandoz, 1872), and since that time he has for the most part refused to enter on the question, as being one which rests between him and his God. To men of equitable mind, not even the justification which he condescended to make was necessary. The vow of chastity as they call it (as though no married man were chaste), which he took on his profession as a monk, fell dead, together with his vows of poverty and obedience, on his repudiation of monasticism, as being an essential part and parcel of the system which he had renounced; and the vow of celibacy which he took when ordained *priest, being one of the* peculiarities of Popery, ceased to bind him when he cast off the doctrine and discipline of Popery as distinct from the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church. It would be as reasonable to charge Dr Newman and Dr Manning with perjury, because by their ordination vow they bound themselves to minister the Sacraments only in the way in which the Church of England received the same The two Cardinals made that vow, and they minister the Sacraments otherwise than the Church of England has received them, and yet they are not perjured. Why? Because that vow was part of their English Orders which they have rejected. So, too, M. Hyacinthe Loyson vowed celibacy and has married, but he is no more perjured than they are, for the vow

that he took was part of the monastic profession and the Roman, as distinct from Catholic, discipline which he has rejected. Furthermore it is the teaching of every moral theologian in the Roman as well as every other part of the Church, that as soon as a man feels a vow (as distinguished from a promise) to be in itself sinful, he is no longer bound by it. Hyacinthe ends his pamphlet on this subject with the following words:—"I am nothing, O my God, but I feel myself called by Thee to break the chains which Thou hast not made, which weigh with so much harshness, often, alas! with so much ignominy upon the holy persons of Thy priests. I am but a sinner, and yet Thy grace has made me strong enough to brave the tyranny of opinion, and not bow before the prejudices of my contemporaries, and upright enough to act as though there were nothing in the world but my conscience and Thyself." Who shall dare say that those words are false? If they are true, the justification of his marriage is complete. He would have been a coward had he let a memory of the past make him refuse to follow in the present what he was convinced in his soul was the leading of God for the good of his Church.

In 1873 M. Loyson accepted an invitation from Geneva to build up in that city a National Catholic Church; but after a short experience he was sorely disappointed to find that those who had called him in were a political party, hoping to make use of his great powers for their own purposes, while they gave him no scope for the work on which his heart was fixed. It soon appeared that he had exchanged the Papal tyranny for the tyranny of Erastianism, and after one year's trial he gave up his connection with the State. For three years longer he continued at Geneva, holding a free service, but taking no active part in the organisation and development of the Swiss Old Catholic Church.

As early as 1871, the Père had signified his adhesion to the Old Catholic movement, and had spoken at the Old Catholic Congress at Munich, but French law imposed silence on him in Paris. Even in 1877 he could obtain leave only to lecture upon morals, with a Commissioner of Police at his side to see that he did not touch on theology. Under these conditions he gave three Conferences in the Cirque d'Hiver; and in the following year, when some advance had been made in the direction of liberty, he delivered four lectures in the same place on Catholicism and Natural Religion, Liberal Catholicism, Dogmatic Catholicism, and Practical Catholicism.* And he now proceeded to inaugurate a new step in advance towards Catholic unity beyond any that the Old Catholics of Germany had made.

In July, 1878, there was held at Lambeth Palace in England a Conference of 100 bishops, representing the whole Anglican Communion. And this body, in its official letter, declared itself "ready to offer" to men in the position of Old Catholics "all help and such privileges as might be acceptable to them, and were consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enunciated in our formularies," and it appointed a Commission† to take into consideration any applications that might be made in consequence of this offer. M. Loyson was at that time in England, having been invited by the Bishop of Winchester to attend a Conference at Farnham Castle, summoned by his Lordship, as President of the Anglo-Continental Society, for the purpose of considering the relations of the Anglican Church to other Communions. The Farnham Conference was attended by 24 Anglican bishops and by Bishop Herzog of Switzerland; and M. Loyson addressed to it an eloquent speech

* These lectures have been published in England in a translation made by Lady Durand, under the title of "The Principles of Catholic Reform," with a Preface by the Bishop of Edinburgh (Rivingtons)

† Consisting of the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, Dublin, the Primus of the Scottish Church, the Presiding Bishop of the American Church, the Bishops of London, Long Island, and Gibraltar.

which elicited a warm response from the Bishops of Western New York and of Moray and Ross. Encouraged by his reception at Farnham, and by the suggestive words of the Lambeth letter, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the President of the Commission appointed at Lambeth, praying him to give the "help" offered by the Conference by placing him provisionally under the superintendence of one or more of the Anglican bishops. The Archbishop and the other members of the Commission, in reply to his appeal, referred him to the guidance and direction of one of their own body, the Primus of the Scottish Church; and the Primus, in a letter which showed that he felt the grave importance of the act, undertook the responsibility thus laid upon him, associating the Bishop of Edinburgh in it with himself. M. Loyson returned to Paris, and took the decisive step of opening a church in the Rue Rochechouart on February 9, 1879, creating thus a centre from which Old Catholic principles may be propagated throughout France.

M. Loyson's energies are now thrown into the work of this church, to which he attracts large congregations by his eloquent preaching. In the summer of 1879 a confirmation was held in it by Bishop Herzog, acting for the Bishop of Moray; and a still more remarkable act of intercommunion took place in August, at Berne, when the Bishop of Edinburgh, Bishop Reinkens, and Bishop Herzog took part in receiving and administering the Holy Communion, after a sermon by M. Loyson.

It cannot be denied that M. Hyacinthe Loyson has twice failed in the great aim and object of his life. As a Roman Catholic priest and Carmelite friar he failed, for his desire was simply to preach Christianity; and because he would not add to it the tenets of Vaticanism he was silenced. At Geneva, too, he failed, because there he refused to take away from Christianity, as before he refused to add to it. Now, in the maturity of his powers, he is making a third effort, in which his friends augur for him a success previously impossible. Of M. Loyson's own earnest piety, honesty of purpose, and self-devotion there is no doubt. The Bishop of Edinburgh, under whose episcopal guidance and direction he now is, says of him in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Oct. 16, 1879:—"There has seldom been a man in whom powers, like those of one of the old prophets, have been so combined with simple and unaffected humility and a total absence of egotism and self-seeking. To a profound apprehension of spiritual truth, as summed up in Christ—which recalls forcibly to one's mind the teaching of Luther—he adds, that which the German Reformer wanted, not only a most reverent and strongly conservative Church spirit, but a remarkable insight into the connection between Christ's truth and the ordinances and apostolic order of His Catholic Church, the communion of His saints, and the witness to Him on earth The ministry of such a man cannot, we may be well assured, fail to be honoured and blessed of God, and I found in Paris sufficient evidence of its real spiritual value. One by one, men are being brought into the clearer light of the Gospel; and it is felt more and more that this is not a mere protest against Papal usurpation, but a manifestation of that living truth in which alone Christian liberty can be found."

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Mr J. V. Lopez, 40, Rue Condorcet, Paris.]



PROFESSOR VAMBERY

PROFESSOR ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY.

IN the stirring days of 1863 there arrived in London a new lion, in the shape of a young traveller from strange old lands. At that period the *blasé* world was in the fever heat of excitement over the great events then transpiring. The civil war in America was at its head, Lincoln had freed the slaves, and "Stonewall" Jackson had fought the battle of Chancellorsville. The Maories had rebelled against us in New Zealand, and the Poles had once more rushed wildly into battle against the Czar. The French had taken Puebla, and the Federals Vicksburg. Maximilian of Austria had been proclaimed Emperor of Mexico, and an ultimatum had been sent by Prussia to Denmark. Horace Vernet and Thackeray had died. Ismaël Pasha had begun the reign which ended so ignominiously sixteen years later. The Prince of Wales had been married; George of Denmark had been elected King of Greece, and his father had succeeded to the throne of Frederick VII. Bishop Colenso had astounded the Church with his critical examination of the Pentateuch; Rénan had published his "Vie de Jésus," and George Eliot had made an era in literature with her "Romola." Altogether, the winter of 1863–64 was not a barren time for the chronicler. Yet the fresh sensation speedily claimed the ear and the eye of a large portion of English society. The philologist was pleased at his gift of tongues and the ethnologist at the strange tales he had to tell. The geographer attended as he discoursed of hidden lands, and the politician listened as the wanderer of doubtful nationality told in willing or callous ears how Russia was enlarging her borders; while most men and all women wondered, as did Desdemona at Othello, at the new arrival discoursing of moving accidents by flood and field, of Khans whose titles were not in the books, of kingdoms whose names the world had not heard since the day when Marco Polo told the scoffing Venetians of his sojourn in the realms of Cathay and Tartaria. In himself the man had few of the conventional characteristics of a hero of romance. He was neither tall nor muscular, and, moreover, he was lame. His face was haggard, as if he had known hunger, and the half-healed excoriations on his skin told a tale of Asian suns, sands, and misery. He gave his name as Arminius, or Hermann, Vambéry, and he reported himself a Hungarian and a christened man. But beyond introductions which he had brought from Persia to Mr. Layard, the late Lord Strangford, and Sir Henry Rawlinson, his credentials were few, and the story he had to relate extremely trying to the London men of little faith. He was reported to have travelled through Central Asia from Persia to the border of Afghanistan in the guise of a dervish or religious pilgrim, to the Sunnee shrines, living by the gifts of the faithful, who, had they for a moment suspected his real character, would have put him to a cruel death. Now, all who know anything of the creed of the Prophet are aware that it is a religion of minute ritual, and that for an infidel to travel undetected among the fanatical Central Asiatic Mollahs is next to impossible. Some trifling error in form or speech will reveal the Giaour, and death or slavery was in those days the lot of such rash adventurers.

But it was clear that this young Hungarian had accomplished this wondrous task. What was even more astonishing was the perfect ease with which he talked, not only in Turkish, but in some of the most obscure of the barbarous Asiatic tongues. He spoke Magyar as a native, and German almost as one. His English was not perfect, but excellent for one who had not been among English people previous to his arrival in our islands; while French, and even Danish and Swedish, were almost equally familiar to him. Persian he spoke, not as foreigners most familiar with that tongue speak it, but with all the sing-song inflexions of the true native of Iran, and yet the man declared he had been only a few months in the kingdom of the Shah. We had recently had a visit from Monsieur Du Chaillu. Need there be surprise that heads were shaken over Arminius Vambéry? Men otherwise charitable were not slow to hint that the *soi-disant* Hungarian with the wild dervish look was in reality one of those Asiatic adventurers who now and then appear in Europe, representing themselves as natives of some country other than their own in order to gain credit for proficiency in their own tongue. Malice, envy, tittle-tattle, and gossip were only too ready to seize on the uncharitable suggestion, and had not his countryman, General Kmety, the hero of Kars, turned up in time to vouch for his identity and character, the young traveller might have had the whimsical fate of having been suspected as a European and Christian in the wilds of Asia, and as an Asiatic and Mohammedan in the civilised centre of Europe. But though Arminius Vambéry has long ago proved himself an adventurer only in the most honourable sense of the term, he has not ceased during the years which have intervened between this period and his first arrival amongst us to be a familiar factor in the literary and political world. His pen has been ever busy—now discoursing on Bokhara and its history, or on some of the semi-savage hordes whom the whirligig of time has brought to the front, anon comforting with discourses from the Koran the Turkish refugees interned in Austria; or, like a true Hungarian and friend of the Turk, never weary, in the face of jeers and the bitterest malignity, in watching the progress of affairs in Central Asia, and drawing his own inferences therefrom. The history of his travels is familiar with most readers of modern literature; but the early life of the traveller himself, though much less known, is in some respects scarcely less remarkable than his subsequent career.*

His youth, up to the age of eighteen, was a struggle with poverty and hunger—a warfare for bread and for knowledge. His father died in 1832, when Arminius was but a few weeks old,† and the hard training the lad had to undergo was aggravated by the fact that from his third to his twelfth year he could not walk without a crutch. But at twelve he had to go out into the world to earn what he could to support himself. His school life did not occupy in all more than three years, but the boy, in spite of his lameness, was hardy and healthy, and gifted with a memory so tenacious that whatever he heard repeated he could remember. He could even recollect passages from the Latin authors, though he did not understand the meaning of the words. To become a physician or a lawyer is among the country people in the island of Schütt, where Vambéry was brought up, the ideal of greatness, and the boy's mother longed for her lad to enter one of these learned callings. But the golden key which can alone open the temples of Themis and Hygea was wanting, and so at the age of twelve Arminius Vambéry was compelled to bethink himself of some more lowly calling. He became a tailor's apprentice. Somehow, the

* The materials for this sketch have been derived from autobiographical papers in *Daheim* and *Globus* for 1873-74, in *Cassell's Magazine* for 1874, and from data given in Meyer's *Conversations-Lexicon*, and in Professor Vambéry's different publications, in addition to many particulars obtained through private channels.

† He was born at Duna Szentabely, on the 19th oMarch, 1832.

sartorial branch of art has not received the appreciation of the world at large or of those who owe their chief claim to consideration to its professors. Yet it has produced some very notable men. Hans Christian Andersen was in his boyhood on the tailor's bench, and Stowe, the historian of London, followed the trade to the end of his life, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, was a tailor; and the late President of Bolivia—General Daza—is understood to have begun his public life in the same condition; the late General Lazareff, who commanded the Russian Akhal Tekke Expedition, left the tailor's shop to follow the colours; and in Queen Elizabeth's day it was whispered—very much *sotto voce*—that one of her most famous admirals, before he had taken to the sword, had distinguished himself with a tinier but more useful weapon of the same metal. But Vambéry was not destined to add lustre to the guild of artists in cloth, for he soon deserted the bench for the bar: in other words, he left the tailor's employment for that of an innkeeper. His duties in his new situation were varied. He had to teach Boniface's son to read, write, and cipher, and among the odd services with which he filled up his time were included those of serving thirsty customers and giving the family boots the weekly brush on a Sunday morning. His employer was a rude boor, who treated his little tutor badly and paid him worse; while the pupil, who was two years older than the teacher, tyrannised over the latter to such an extent that scholastic discipline was out of the question. But in time his servitude to the licensed victualler came to an end, and with eight florins in his pocket Vambéry left his native Szerdahely for St. George's, in the neighbourhood of Presburg, to commence in the gymnasium of the Priarist Fathers that higher course of studies for which in poverty and toil he had longed. However, eight florins, even in Hungary thirty years ago, would not go very far. They only sufficed to pay for his necessary school books; but benevolent people helped the earnest student. "In seven different houses," he wrote, recalling these days after he had attained fame, "I received in the seven days of the week my chief meals free, in addition to which I obtained from each family on their day a piece of bread for my breakfast and one for my supper. The wealthier students presented me with their left-off clothes. By dint of industry and earnest application to my studies, as well as by inborn quick comprehension and tenacious memory, I gained at the public examination of the very first Latin class the position of the second best scholar. I felt a hearty pleasure in learning, and as I soon learned to speak Latin fluently this drew the attention of my teachers, in consequence of which much of the hardship in the commencement of my battling with life was eased for me by benevolence." But the student, as he attained the highest honours of the gymnasium, longed for a change, and so in the year 1846, just as he had completed his fourteenth year, he entered the ancient town of Presburg, which at that time boasted of a better school than the one at St. George's. Here his difficulties had to commence afresh. The next three years were not pleasant ones. He studied, and he taught that he might have means to study. His pupils were cooks and servant-girls, and people of similar rank, and in addition he was sometimes a servant himself. "It became clear to me from the beginning that with the number of the population and the height of building increases usually the difficulty of forming acquaintanceship, and, in inverse proportion, decreases the sympathy towards our neighbours." Presburg was not a sunny-memoried town to Vambéry. The tourist who passes through it justly considers it one of the most cheerful little places on the banks of the clear-waved Danube. But we have the assurance of Vambéry himself that there is not a stone in the pavement that could not tell some sad story out of the epoch of his existence could it speak. Yet the scholar's spirits never flagged. When the school closed he was ever among the first—German student-like—to seize his staff, and, though lame, to tramp the country round,

often without a kreutzer in his pocket, yet never failing by his imperturbable good-humour to fare as did George Primrose when he wandered over Europe in like guise.

All this time he was simply an apprentice to the task which had been slowly shaping itself in his mind. In the year 1847 he began systematically to learn languages, in addition to German, French, Latin, Greek, and the Slavonic dialects of the Austrian Empire, which by the age of sixteen he had known. From French to the Romanesque family of languages was to him an easy step. German led to the Germanic group—to English, Danish, and Swedish—until he could enjoy the literature of almost any European tongue. He would read aloud Lomonossoff, Pushkin, Tegner, Andersen, Oehlenschlager, Byron, Dante, and Schiller, until the neighbours thought him mad, and the family in which he was tutor, in alarm at the youth's strange ways, hastened to relieve him of his office. But Europe was in those days only a halting-place for Vambéry. He longed for Asia; and accordingly Turkish, which to a Magyar is not very difficult, was mastered, in spite of the fact that his progress was at first slow, owing to his being unable to buy a dictionary. He would spend whole days in drawing with his walking-stick in the sand the characters, until he grew acquainted with the importance of the points and the signs of discrimination which decide the correct pronunciation of letters and words. By the age of twenty he could understand a Turkish poem without any help from a lexicon, and at about the same period, by the aid of Baron Joseph Eotvös, he was enabled to set out on the journey which had been the day-dream of years. A Danube steamer is a school for a philologist, and among the heterogeneous races which embarked at every way port Vambéry was in his element. He discoursed to them in all dialects, and by the help of that polyglot tongue of his, which was his only fortune and almost his only outfit, he was passed down the Danube into the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, until at last the mosques and minarets of Stamboul burst upon the enraptured gaze of the young adventurer. He was the owner of fifteen florins when he started from Pesth; when he reached Constantinople he had just enough in his pocket to pay the boatman who disembarked him on the shore of the Golden Horn. He was penniless, and, with the exception of a Belgian whose acquaintance he had made by a quotation from the "Henriade" on board the Varna steamer, in all the great city he knew not a soul. Whilst cogitating how he was to pass the night, his Magyar dress attracted the attention of one of the many compatriots who had then taken refuge in Turkey. With him he obtained temporary shelter, until an asylum was found for him in the chambers of the Hungarian Association. An advertisement for pupils in languages enlarged the circle of his acquaintance, while his proficiency in many of these—particularly in Turkish—excited the wonder of even many-tongued Pera. Nor was he unsuccessful in his efforts to utilise his hard-won knowledge, for in due time a pupil appeared in the person of the Oriental Secretary of the Danish Embassy, who, being a Levantine, came to Vambéry, a Hungarian, to learn the language of his adopted country. While Mr. Hubsch was spelling out the ponderous paragraphs in the "Berlingske Tidninger," another and even more important applicant for his services appeared. This was a young Turk, one of the *jeunesse dorée*, who, having already advanced on the road of Western culture as far as the tailor could carry him, wished to attain a knowledge of French as the final accomplishment necessary to the complete Ottoman dandy. In the home of this youth at Scutari he received much kindness, and enlarged the circle of his acquaintance among the higher class of Turks. But it was not until he was chosen by General Husein Daim Pasha as tutor to his son, and went to reside in Fyndykly, one of the pleasantest of the strictly Mohammedan quarters of Constantinople, that the Turco-Hungarian became completely naturalised among his new friends. Daim Pasha was

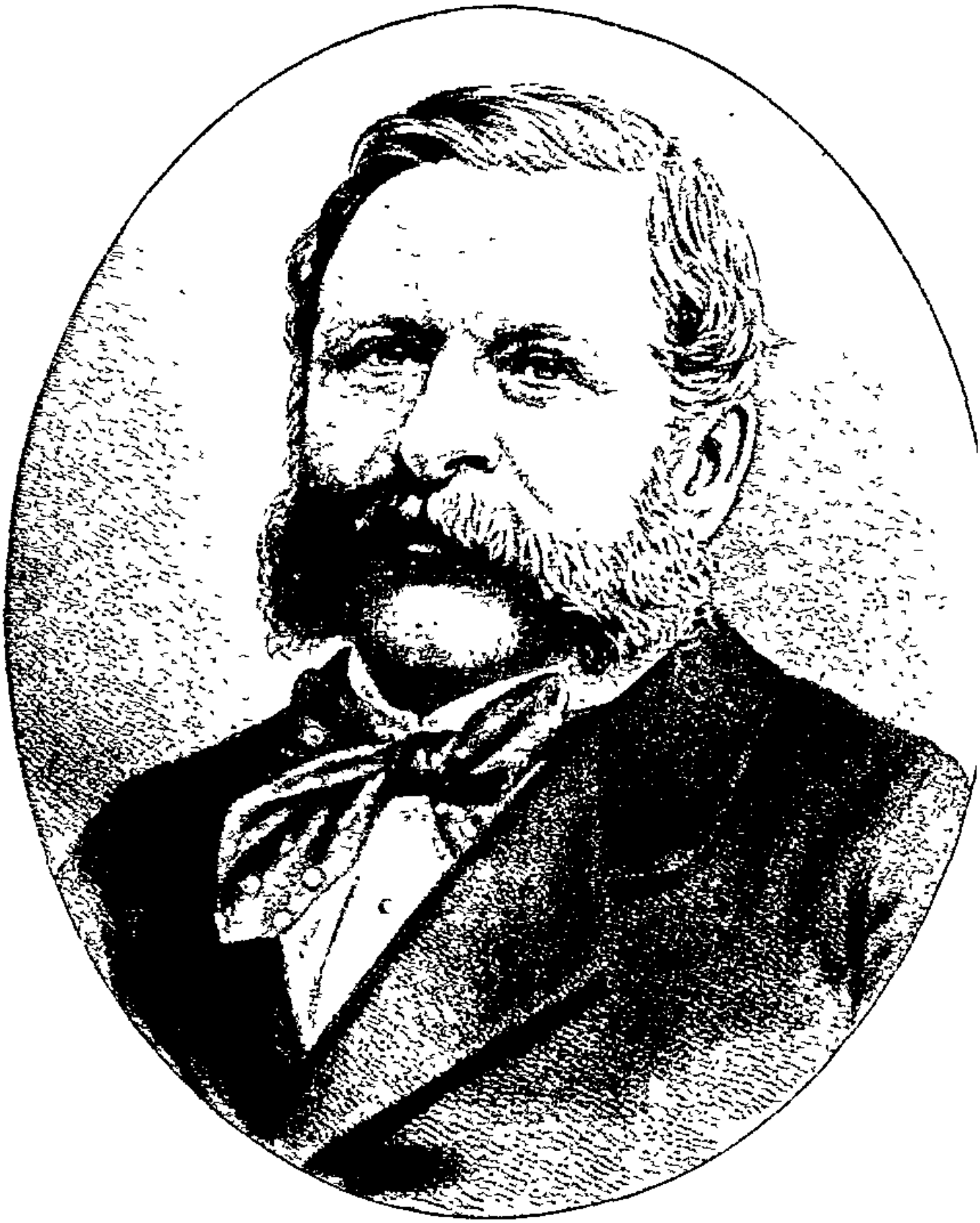
in himself a remarkable man, and in after years gained a fatal notoriety as the head of the Kuleh conspiracy to dethrone Abdul Medjid, under the idea that the tottering empire of the Khalif would be thereby revived. But in 1860 he was only known as a distinguished officer who had spent his youth in the court of Sultan Mahmoud, where the Janissaries were destroyed, and who had subsequently gained distinction in Egypt and in the defence of Kars. This old Turk was well fitted to instruct the eager seeker after knowledge. His grey-bearded major-domo was never weary of instructing the "black infidel" in Moslem etiquette; while in the person of Ahmed Effendi, a Bagdad Mollah, a phenomenal linguist of rare ability, who, bare-footed and bare-headed, had served throughout the whole Crimean War as a "Gazi," or religious warrior, Vambéry found the man who was to "transform him into an Asiatic." Finally in Mollah Khalmurad he discovered a fitting teacher to initiate him into Asiatic customs and literature, and to discourse with him on the Oxus and the Jaxartes, on Bokhara and Samarkand.

By this time the Orientalist's studies began to bear fruit. A dictionary of German and Turkish and various historical translations from the Ottoman historians attracted the attention of the learned, and won him a seat in the Academy of Pesth. He now resolved to undertake a journey into Central Asia—not, as has been sometimes reported, to seek the original home of the Magyars, or still less with the idea that at that time of day any race entirely unknown to the ethnographer could be found, but simply to see whether among some of these people there could not be discovered a Turkish dialect whose age and purity had been secured by its isolation from the West. Returning to Pesth, the Academy readily agreed to grant him £60 in aid of his undertaking, though at the same time doubting whether, with such slender means and with so frail a body, the young enthusiast could journey so far. But as he had resolved to travel as a Dervish—a mendicant dependent on alms—money would be of little use after arriving on the scene of action. The Academy also, with that unconscious humour which *relieves such assemblies from their fatal dulness*, solemnly drew up a credential for the traveller, and for the easier understanding of the Khans, Sultans, and Beys to whom it was addressed, wrote it in *Latin*. The Government also, with equal generosity and wisdom, granted him a passport to Bokhara. It is needless to say that the sight of either document in the country bordering the Oxus would have proved the readiest road to the gallows or the slave market! And so, with £60 and these two portentous documents, young Vambéry set out on his philological journey. But he was not even then fully ready for it, for in Stamboul he spent other six months, consorting with travellers and pilgrims from Central Asia, and haunting caravanserais where fierce "aphaniptera" held nightly revels on the persons of the sleepers. Thus the enthusiast obtained a foretaste of his future life. Before the six months was at an end every dirty Hadji in Stamboul knew the eager youth, who seemed neither Christian nor Moslem, but whose peculiar insanity took the form of questioning and cross-questioning every man whom he met about those muddy rivers, the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya, the steppes, and the khanates. As for the effeminate Effendies of Constantinople, they simply shuddered when they heard him discoursing of his prospective life among the Turcomans. "*Allah, okillar versin!*" "*God give him understanding.* No one can cure insanity, may Allah, then take pity on him," was the rejoinder of the frightened sybarites. To Teheran was his first stage; and thither he travelled, during a horseback journey of three months, as Reshid Effendi, a Turkish gentleman of meagre means—a wandering savant, and a good Moslem withal. After the luxurious life of Constantinople *the journey was a hard one; but the firmans and letters* he bore carried him safely and even easily along. Every Kurdish tent was opened to him; every Turkish house could have been his home—for was not Reshid Effendi a friend of the all-powerful

Pashas? But as he left the Turkish boundary behind his treatment underwent a change; and from being honoured he was despised. He was a Turk and a Sunnee; he had now entered Persia, and was among the rival sect of Shiites, who have no dealings with them. The traveller had deserted Europe, with its much-divided sects, and entered Asia, only to find that, though outwardly a good Moslem, he was despised, insulted, sometimes beaten, and always despitefully used, simply because 1,200 years before there had been a split among the faithful regarding the succession of the first three Khalifs. But this did not deter the Sunnee Effendi from roaming on foot and on horseback through the country, visiting the shrines of the saints, and sharing in those many adventures which are fully detailed in his "Wanderings in Persia."

But the rude food—coarse even to repulsiveness—the hard resting-place, the scanty clothing, the filthy caravanseras, the sneers and insults, were but preparations for the journey he was about to undertake. Indeed, all Vambéry's life he had been consciously or unconsciously preparing for efficiently performing his part during the next few months.

The time came. He found a party of mendicant pilgrims, or dervishes, who were about visiting the Central Asian shrines, and to these he attached himself. A dirtier, more pious, less reputable band of travellers it would have been difficult to find between Cape Comorin and the Caspian. Of the twenty-four members of the company but from four to six had the means of changing their nether garments. Even they, through vanity, dressed in parti-coloured rags; and added to this, most of them were sickly in appearance, and disfigured by chilblains and blisters—the effect of night frosts and midday suns. This journey is detailed in M. Vambéry's "Travels in Central Asia" (1864); but as we are now writing his life, and not the digest of his scientific researches, the daily steps of his travel eastward need not be followed. As a saint from *Rum* (Turkey of the West), he was a holy man, to whom young and old hurried to receive a blessing, and accept his sanctifying breath. Yet he was not unsuspected even among his own company. By some he was believed to be a sorcerer, by others an ambassador of the Sultan of the Ottomans, who "sent aid in the shape of invisible treasures to the Islam, ill-used by extortions on the banks of the Jaxartes." There were others who saw in the ragged pilgrim with the strange face a bewitched prince, and all tried, by asking him the most bizarre questions, to pierce the mystery they were certain he was enveloped in. In time he was unable to blush. In the course of a few weeks he could hear himself denounced as a Russian or an English spy, and listen to the heartfelt hopes that in Khiva the rack would loosen his tongue, without betraying the emotion which it was hoped the words would evoke. Yet in his dreams he saw pictures of fettered slaves, of fighting Uzbeks, people hung up by their heels, flayed alive—all things horrible; and it was not until he was told that he spoke in his sleep in strange tongues that he became alarmed. Thereafter he avoided eating late at night, and in other ways tried to drive away nightmare. In the weary sands of Khalata, where, dying of thirst, he prayed for death, yet—such is the contradiction of human nature—when threatened by the malice of men he exerted all his ingenuity to avoid the discovery that would have assuredly brought down the fanatics' vengeance on him. Few baths, scarcely any change of clothing, sand-storms, and Asian heats, food consisting of black unleavened bread baked in the burnt ashes of camel's excrement, drink of foul, bitter salt water, whose very odour would have turned a European sick—all these daily turned the pseudo-dervish more and more into being a fit compeer for his companions, and rendered his chance of detection less and less. Sometimes, when questioned by the Khan of Khiva or the Emir of Bokhara, he dreaded lest the acute, cunning intellect of the true Asiatic should penetrate his disguise; and once, indeed, at Herat, Yakoob Khan, afterwards Ameer of Afghanistan, but then a boy of sixteen, saw the real state of the case, but took no active



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he got acquainted—not as a foreigner, but as a native. Most of the ground traversed by Vambéry has since then been visited by other travellers, armed with every scientific appliance. But in spite of his descriptions being subjected to the most critical tests by those vindictively anxious to discredit him, a general consensus of opinion justifies us in saying that in all material points they have been amply confirmed. In addition to his special works of travel, he has been an indefatigable contributor to the English, Hungarian, and German newspapers and magazines, so that in the course of the years since 1863 it is difficult to indicate any question regarding Central Asia with which the name of Vambéry has not been connected. Even in Russia, where his activity in certain directions has excited anything but kindly feelings, his authority cannot be denied; and we do not believe the most enthusiastic Panslav—not even Professor Gregorief himself—now attempts to insinuate that the pestilent Magyar has *not* been in Central Asia! In Germany the "philolog" is an anachronistic relic. To write to the level of the multitude is, from his point of view, undignified. Accordingly, with those ponderous Dryasdusts the lively letters and papers of Vambéry find little favour; but as he only desired to enlighten the world, and the world is grateful for his successful efforts, he can bear the scorn of the Teutonic grammarians. It was in completing the second part of his task that M. Vambéry was, so to say, dragged into the arena of political controversies, and had to feel the envenomed sting of political attack. "Whilst in Asia," to use his own words, "I got the full conviction that the English channel for propagating Western civilisation is a thousand times superior to that of other nations, and particularly to that of Russia. What I saw and heard in the old world was fully approved through my experiences in England and on the Continent. And as solid conviction must now lead to strength, I could not retreat before the overwhelming number of my assailants in Russia, as well as on the Continent generally. I am not an Anglo-maniac, as people fancy, and still less a hireling, as my enemies and vile detractors say, but a traveller who flatters himself to have seen with open eyes, and who will stick to his conclusions as long as he lives. On the other hand, I cannot conceal from myself the joy that my writings have not been without effect, and that I have converted some of my most sturdy opponents to my theories. I feel that my hard work has not been entirely thrown away. Being in the full vigour of my strength, I hope that when the evening of my life approaches I shall be able to say—'It was a hot but a fine day!'"

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Professor K. Koller, Budapest.*]

M. Waddington.

IT has been remarked by an observer of French history, who is not free from a spirit of cynicism, that France more than all other countries is most docile under a foreign ruler. There is certainly something in her history to justify this comment, though perhaps it applies equally to other countries if closely examined. Mazarin, one of her most powerful rulers, was an Italian. The question whether Napoleon was born in Corsica before or after that island had been united to France, does not alter the fact that he also was Italian in origin; and M. Gambetta, the most powerful man in France of the present day, draws most of his blood from Italo-Hebrew sources. But more singular, perhaps, than the rise of any of these men was the elevation of M. Waddington to the post of Chief Minister. Not only is he foreign by origin, but it was not until he had passed his majority that he elected to be a Frenchman, and his early days and training were thoroughly English.

It is one of the reproaches against our race that we have not imaginative or sympathetic power sufficient to inspire other races with a love for our rule; and an unfavourable contrast has been drawn between the dislike which still exists towards us in India, and the intense and passionate love borne to the French by the German population whom they had formerly under their control in Alsace and Lorraine. An Englishman, therefore, on these grounds would appear at first sight to be of all men the least suited to govern the French people, and the one under whose authority they would be most likely to chafe. In the face of this, however, we find that M. Waddington was raised to his high position by general consent, that he fulfilled his duties toward his adopted country to the satisfaction of the majority of the people, and that in his retirement he carries the respect of all parties in the State.

William Henry Waddington was born in Paris in the year 1826. His father—an Englishman—had settled down in France, and had gained a large fortune as a vine-grower. Though the elder Waddington in the end became naturalised as a Frenchman, he determined to let his son have the benefit of an English education, and the lad certainly entered with great heartiness into the ideas of his parent. So far as one can judge from the memories preserved of him, there was never a more thoroughly typical English boy. At his school he entered heartily into all the out-door sports, in a passion for which our younger generation is so different from that of France; became a fine cricketer and an excellent oarsman. When he went up to Cambridge University he gained the highest honour that the athletic portion of his fellow-students could confer upon him: that is to say, he was selected as one of the illustrious "eight" who were chosen to fight against Oxford in the annual aquatic contest. It is not easy for most of us to understand how, having reached that dizzy height of British glory, young Waddington could have ever hardened his heart so far as to become a Frenchman. For, assuredly, the English people confers for a time on the University oarsman an amount of public

attention and popular affection for which statesmen may labour vainly through a life-time, and the highest *littérateurs* can scarcely dare to yearn; and the lad, who had gone through those weeks of being photographed and interviewed, described and cheered, which precede the boat-race, must have been inclined to think that the English people were the most ardent and most delightful of hero-worshippers However, neither his position as "stroke," nor his English education or connections were able to keep young Waddington among us, and when he returned to France he chose to be a Frenchman.

In his new home, the position of M. Waddington was in some respects remarkably favourable, and in others possessed its drawbacks. The heir to a large fortune, he was freed from the necessity of devoting himself to the drudgery of a profession, but, on the other hand, he was not in particular sympathy with the political conditions of his time, and therefore had no inclination to enter upon political life. Under these circumstances he took the sensible course of seeking in literary activity an outcome for his talents and industry. Though he had, as we have stated, distinguished himself as an athlete during his University career in England, he had also shown himself to be an ardent student, and the knowledge he had acquired doubtless gave him the impulse to the tasks to which he now directed his attention. He devoted himself to the study of numismatics and archæology, and was made a member of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1850 he travelled through Asia Minor, and gave the results in two memoirs, which had the high honour of being crowned by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres —a learned body which those acquainted with Parisian Institutions will know is but little lower in importance in the circles of the erudite than the famous Academy itself. A book entitled "A Tour in Asia Minor, by a Numismatist" ("Voyage en Asie Mineure au point de vue numismatique") contained in a clear and succinct form the results of his explorations. The knowledge he had thus acquired of the Oriental past induced him to undertake a second tour in 1852, and on this occasion he attained a deeper insight into the historical and archæological questions which had engaged his attention on the previous occasion. In 1865 the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres elected him as one of its members. He had in the previous year published a work called "Edit de Diocletian," which threw considerable light on some interesting questions relating to the time of the Roman Empire There has also proceeded from his pen, "An Archæological Tour in Greece and Asia Minor."

Meantime, an opportunity seemed to arise for M. Waddington endeavouring to attain that position in politics to which his talents and his fortune alike entitled him. Everybody who has followed with any attention the history of the Second Empire knows what a vast difference there was between the early days and the latter half of Louis Napoleon's reign. When the Emperor was in the first flush of victory, while the shopkeepers of Paris were yet under the influence of the horrors of the *coup d'état*, and the peasantry had not yet awoke from the nightmare of revolution which so often disturbs their rest; in such times it was vain for Liberal France to hope for the return of a truly Parliamentary *régime*. In those early years, too, Louis Napoleon's will was as yet unbroken by long-continued disease; no disaster had yet dimmed his *prestige*, and he was still surrounded by an unbroken band of the less scrupulous and more strong-willed men who had hurried him into the *coup d'état*. During this period, all the friends of Constitutional liberties kept entirely and obstinately apart from interference in practical politics. As time went on, however, and as the Emperor was forced to make one concession after another, gleams of hope commenced to penetrate the minds of the Liberal party; and they began gradually to come to the determination that the time was coming when the Imperial *régime*, if it could not be

destroyed, might be at least made the best of. The period at which M. Waddington made his first attempt to enter in political life, defines pretty clearly what his attitude was to the existing *régime*. While a Victor Hugo refused to return except over the corpse of the Empire, and men like Grévy and Gambetta waited till it was in the throes of death, M. Waddington was ready to influence political life in 1865, when as yet the Imperialist rule, though shaken, showed no signs of falling. In other words, he was ready for construction, rather than a rabid advocate of complete destruction. While M Waddington, however, was ready for political life, France had not yet reached the maturity of anti-Imperialist Liberalism, and accordingly he was borne down by the official candidate. This defeat, like that of other statesmen of the time, was but natural, when the central Government in Paris had absolutely under its thumb the Prefect, the regiments of Sous-préfets, and the battalions of minor officials, and when the secrecy of the ballot, like that of the private letter, existed too often far more in name than in reality. We pass with a sentence over the dark days in which, as under a dread eclipse, the Second Empire went down, for the share M. Waddington took in the events of that terrible period was but small; and quieter times were required for prominent action by men of his talents and disposition

With the fall of the Empire, the political future of M. Waddington, like that of the majority of those who had been opponents of the Empire, brightened. The re-establishment of a Parliamentary system opened up to him, as to the other friends of representative institutions, a prospect of official promotion, dependent on something more substantial than the will of an autocrat, and attainable by other arts than those of the courtier. As time went on, the Assembly, which had been originally monarchical to fanaticism, gradually cooled, as we know, first under the influence of M. Thiers, and afterwards in face of the determined hostility of the country generally to the restoration of monarchical institutions.

M. Waddington did not ally himself with the extreme men of either party. In fact, throughout his political life, he has generally displayed that quality in politics upon which we, rightly or wrongly, pride ourselves as being superior to most other nations; that is to say, he has proved himself to be possessed of that *gros bon sens* which looks to the possible rather than to the ideal, and is always more guided by moderation than extremeness. He gradually, however, became known as a moderate Republican, but he cannot be said to have ever definitely become a member of the larger groups of that section. It has been said that he belonged to the narrowest section in the Chamber, which we take to mean that perhaps he prefers ideas to names, and is more concerned about his views than about the particular appellation by which they may be labelled.

The trust which was reposed in his judgment was exemplified in the most practical manner by the office to which his colleagues elected him. When M. Dufaure succeeded the ill-fated De Broglie Ministry, the position of France was by no means an enviable one. The extraordinary freaks of which the Government of the 16th of May had been guilty, had produced a state of feeling which seemed dangerously close to the dizzy brink of revolution Such a state of feeling in France always produces an opinion abroad destructive of its influence, for the history of that country has on too many occasions shown the shortness of life, and accordingly the feebleness of influence, which the *régime* for the time being may possess, and foreign rulers and Ministers have no great confidence in negotiating with Powers which in an hour may become powerless, and dignitaries that may be any moment thrown into the street.

It was for M. Waddington to restore that respect for his Government which his predecessors had done so much to destroy. This was by no means an easy task, for the times were indeed

perilous, and there was no Foreign Minister in Europe that did not find himself face to face with a crisis of extreme difficulty; for these were the days when the war in the East was coming to its close, and Europe was reaching that point where her peace was to be assured or be suddenly wrecked. We know from the history of our own country that the closing days of the struggle between Russia and Turkey, instead of putting an end to the difficulties between the various Powers, rather raised a new crop, and that never at any period, perhaps, did we approach more closely to a general conflagration than during the days which elapsed between the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. M. Waddington, therefore, held office at a time when his position brought overwhelming responsibilities. He had at once to face two great and intricate questions. One of the projects with which the English Government was credited, at a time when most of the Powers were supposed to hanker after some of the spoils of the great upheaval, was the annexation of Egypt. The proposal, if we may credit the diplomatic and journalistic gossip of the time, was one to which the Khedive of Egypt himself felt no very strong objection, and to which our rulers were even urged by Russia and Prussia. This placed M. Waddington in a most disagreeable dilemma. Ever since the days of Napoleon, the East has exercised a certain fascination over the imaginations of Frenchmen; and though it is not easy to trace the ideas on which the notion is based, there is, no doubt, a feeling in the French mind that France has a right to exercise considerable control over Egyptian affairs. It was, therefore, quite evident that the Foreign Minister would do much to forfeit, if he did not wholly destroy his *prestige* with his countrymen, if he allowed this project of an occupation of Egypt to be carried into effect. On the other hand, France was at that moment unprepared for a conflict with any nation, and still less would she have been ready for anything like a collision with England, which country, since the war of 1870, had been daily drawing closer to her in bonds of amity. It is greatly to the credit of M. Waddington that he was successful in steering clear between the Scylla of weak acquiescence and the Charybdis of offending English *amour-propre*, and that he was able to put his remonstrances in such a form that they could be received in a friendly manner. We cannot say that it was his protest that prevented the annexation of Egypt, for we do not know that the design was ever seriously entertained; but, at all events, the annexation did not take place, and, as human affairs are judged, he will, like other Ministers, get credit for that which, if the facts were known, may have been the achievement of good fortune rather than the result of good management.

The next difficulty with which M. Waddington had to deal was that of the Berlin Conference. This was practically the first time since the war that France had been called in to take part in the Councils of Europe. Times were, indeed, changed. There had been a moment, but a few years before, when the occupant of the Tuileries could have declared with truth, "*Quand la France sera satisfaite l'Europe sera tranquille*" ("When France is satisfied Europe will be at peace"). Now the representative of that country entered a Council where he was, perhaps, the least powerful statesman of all. He went there not to be the dictator, nor even the most potent voice. He went not to sow the seeds of future war, but to confirm in every way possible the continuance of peace. Moreover, while the other nations had interests most directly involved in the struggles at the Council-table—while the whole future of Russia was admittedly, and that of England supposedly, involved in the results of the Conference, and while to Germany and Austria any decision might be a matter of vital and almost immediate moment—France could, to a great extent, afford to be indifferent to what the diplomatists of Europe might decide as to the complications in the East. In fact, the

attitude of the French representative was bound to be far more that of reserve than was that of any other country represented in the Conference. M. Waddington was exactly the man to play such a part. His manners are described as a happy medium between candour and reserve, he is not given to flights of eloquence, and his nature has a good basis of Saxon phlegm. The consequence was that he pursued a policy which did honour to himself, and did much to conserve the interests and restore the *prestige* of his country. There were, as we shall see presently, some murmurs among small sections of French parties, but his policy received the approval of rational men of all parties. There were two subjects alone on which he was forced into a more active attitude. As an old archæologist and Hellenist, he shared the strong feeling among the majority of his countrymen in favour of the enlargement of Greek territory and freedom; and he was the leader of the party in the Congress which put forward Greek claims, and he found an earnest supporter in Count Corti, the Italian representative. The French plenipotentiary appealed, according to the report in one of the journals, to the fact that such an enlightened prince as King Leopold of Belgium had been offered the crown of Greece, and had refused it on the ground that the country could not really live so long as it was limited to its present frontiers. He next argued that the main object of the Congress was to assure the peace of Europe, but how long could that peace be maintained if this thorn were left in the side of Greece and Turkey? The chief opponent of M. Waddington was Lord Beaconsfield, who on the occasion found it necessary to defend Turkey; and one of the most interesting sessions of the Congress is said to have been that in which the two leading representatives of England and France urged with all their arts of eloquence their respective convictions upon this great controversy. As we all know, the question was not settled at the Congress, and it is for posterity to pronounce whether the thorough project put forward by the French Minister was more calculated to obtain peace than the temporary expedient advocated by the other Powers.

The other question upon which M Waddington had to depart from his reserve, or upon which he at least could not maintain a mere neutrality, was in reference to the secret treaty by which Cyprus was annexed and the English protectorate of Asia Minor established. There was no doubt that his want of success in preventing the realisation of these projects was regarded by a large section of his countrymen as a distinct failure. Many of the French papers declared that the Mediterranean, which Louis Napoleon was said to have once described as a French lake, had now gone completely under the control of England, and the result was a large amount of vituperation in some of the more Chauvinist journals and from the mouths of some of the least responsible French politicians.

M. Waddington on his return from the Congress made a bold stand against these attacks, and on December 14th delivered an important speech in the Senate, in reply to a question put by M. Gontaut Biron, defending not only his action at Berlin, but the steps by which he had followed it up. The instructions, he said, which the French plenipotentiaries had received were to defend the interests of France, to maintain peace, to do nothing to prejudice French neutrality, and to avoid all engagements concerning the future. These conditions, he went on, had been carried out, and France left the Congress as free as she entered it. She supported the execution of the Berlin Treaty. No doubt there were difficulties, but they could be overcome. Regarding Greece, M. Waddington said that in the action which France had initiated the fundamental idea was to obtain for that country a sufficient frontier. France still hoped to secure for her "the shores of Volo and Arta, half of Thessaly, and a portion of Thrace." The Foreign Minister wound up by references to matters of detail, into which we need not

enter; suffice it to say that his speech made an excellent impression, and that the policy defended met with general approval.

We now come to the time when M. Waddington was raised to a higher but, as was soon proved, less tranquil position. The fall of Marshal MacMahon was accompanied by the resignation of M. Dufaure; the octogenarian statesman thinking that, having rescued the Republic from the perils that had been assailing it, and seen the installation of a really Republican President in M Grévy, the time had come for his retirement into private life. There was naturally considerable reluctance on the part of his colleagues to consent to this act of abnegation at a time when there was still the after-swell from recent storms in the public mind; but M. Dufaure proved inflexible. M. Grévy thus, at the very threshold of his new career, found himself face to face with the most trying of all questions—that of choosing his Prime Minister He turned to M. Waddington in this difficulty. We can easily understand the motives which lay at the bottom of the President's selection. Probably a man of his calm temperament and moderate views would feel naturally attracted towards a man of M. Waddington's sobriety of judgment and tranquil disposition. Moreover, it was most important to show to Europe that the change in the interior politics of France to a more democratic *régime* did not imply more turbulent action abroad, as kings who believed in Divine right, and Ministers who hated Liberalism, might be only too ready to believe or pretend. He accordingly sought to retain the services of M. Waddington, who might be trusted to still pursue the same course, and who had given the strongest proofs of both the desire for maintaining peace, and the ability to help that great cause. M. Waddington, then, was created Prime Minister, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, in February, 1879. The nomination, it must be acknowledged, was not received with great satisfaction, and dangers were predicted which after-events proved not to be imaginary. In the first place, it was pointed out—we know not with how much truth—that M. Waddington was not a *persona grata* to M. Gambetta; and M. Gambetta at this period exercised such paramount control over public opinion that nobody whom he did not love was supposed capable of retaining power for any lengthened period. Then the moderation of M. Waddington's Republicanism was considered inconvenient, at a time when the Assembly were composed for the most part of men of the advanced school, in whose minds the excesses of the De Broglie Ministry had created a Republican reaction, under the influence of which the extreme party became predominant. Finally, it was objected that M. Waddington, while he was a fluent and occasionally forcible speaker, had yet none of that *vis oratoria* which carries away popular audiences, and was also without that commanding personal influence which overcomes personal opposition. The general opinion, accordingly, seemed to be that his would be an interim Ministry, which would gradually pave the way for one between the comparative Conservatism of Dufaure and the more advanced Radicalism of the left wing. Probably, as among most politicians in similar cases, the wish was father to the thought. At all events, before long, it was clearly to be seen that M. Waddington would not be allowed to repose upon a bed of roses. He had, at the very commencement of his Premiership, to deal with a question upon which reconciliation in opinion between moderate Liberalism and Radicalism was impossible, and which deeply excited the political passions of the population. This was the question of the Amnesty. The general merits of this subject are known, the extreme parties being represented by those who regarded the Communists as common law criminals, deserving the severest punishment the law could inflict, and those who considered the entire body as either misled simpletons or patriotic martyrs.

M. Waddington under those circumstances could scarcely follow any other policy than that of pursuing a middle course, and he accordingly carried measures which, stopping short of a complete Amnesty, restored several hundreds of the unfortunate Communists to their homes. But the *via media* rarely proves satisfactory in political affairs, and the consequence was that this subject of the Amnesty still remained an open and a burning question, on which complete reconciliation was impossible between the Minister and certain sections of the Chambers Another thing which tended to divide the Ministry was the Education Bill, introduced by M. Jules Ferry, M. Waddington's Minister of Education. The reader need not be afraid that we shall enter into any discussions of the merits of the memorable Article 7 in that measure, which has become in French politics almost as great a *bête noire* as the "Compound Householder," who sat as an Old Man of the Sea on the debates as to Reform, or the 25th Clause, which darkened the discussions on our own Education Bill; suffice it to say that the Article was one which dealt with one of those politico-religious questions on which the minds of men most do differ and their passions are most easily aroused. M. Waddington again found himself in a most uncomfortable position between the contending parties. While the friends of Clericalism denounced him as a traitor to all religion, the violent Republicans insisted on seeing in him a secret abettor of the Jesuits. Again M. Waddington's disposition and training tended to make him an impartial arbiter between the factions on both sides. He is himself a Protestant, and had, therefore, probably none of that unsparing rancour against the Church of Rome which so often distinguishes those who have left her bosom after having once dwelt therein. On the other hand, he did not, of course, receive an education which tended to make him in any way inclined to tolerate the excessive pretensions of ecclesiasticism. The cry went forth accordingly that he was lukewarm, and that he blew hot and cold in reference to this great question, on which society had for the most part ranged itself into clearly defined and bitterly hostile camps. To this was added the even more damaging assertion that the Ministry was divided against itself, and that while M. Jules Ferry was ready to go fast he was kept back by a secretly reactionary superior. Besides, there was in the Ministry of M. Waddington another colleague on whom unquestionably the affections of M Gambetta and the more advanced Radicals were finally set. This was M. de Freycinet, the Prime Minister of France, who had been the chief coadjutor of the young dictator, as he was then called, during the contest with Germany, and who was credited with a more commanding individuality than M. Waddington could lay claim to. It was in vain, under circumstances like these, that the Premier declared his firm adherence, in one of the best speeches he ever made, to the policy enunciated in Article 7, and his complete agreement with his colleagues on the subject. His fall was a foregone conclusion, and therefore little surprise was manifested when, on the re-assembling of Parliament after the vacation, there were signs of dissatisfaction which threatened to end in open revolt. For awhile the Minister succeeded in baffling his enemies, for the different sections were not united, and had not yet found a good field of battle At length, however, the malady which had long been hovering over the Cabinet ended in an acute crisis, and M. Waddington handed in his resignation. For some days there were negotiations as to whether a re-construction of the Government would not restore its *prestige*, and one of the proposals spoken of was to retain M. Waddington in the post of Foreign Minister, in which he had done so much to restore the confidence of Europe in the pacific intentions of France. This plan also fell through, and M. Waddington retired altogether for the moment into private life, and was succeeded by M. de Freycinet.



COUNT SCHOUVALOFF

It is not likely that the privacy will last very long, as his fortune, his abilities, his official experience, and his admitted integrity make M. Waddington a man towards whom the constructors of Cabinets instinctively turn. He probably has enough of the Anglo-Saxon in him to feel comparatively indifferent on the subject, and may be expected to enjoy the delights of life which large estates can afford to the lover of out-door sport, and a well-stocked library to the ardent student. In any case, he has done sufficient to mark him out as one who has deserved well of his country.

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COUNT SCHOUVALOFF.

THE present Czar of Russia, like his predecessor the Emperor Nicholas, has been fortunate in enlisting on behalf of himself and his empire the services of some of the most brilliant and successful diplomatists of the present century. Prince Gortschakoff has guided the destinies of Russia with a hand as powerful and sure as that with which Prince Bismarck has built up the German Empire; and whenever the Russian Chancellor retires from the active control of affairs, it is regarded as certain in official circles at St. Petersburg that he will be succeeded by the subject of our present biography, one of the most distinguished of living Russian diplomatists. Count Peter Andreivitsch Schouvaloff, or Schûvaloff, is still comparatively young, considering the number of years in which he has been a prominent figure in connection with the affairs of the great northern empire. He is descended from a noble Russian family, that has now enjoyed its aristocratic honours for a period of nearly three centuries—a family which has on many occasions in its history rendered signal service to the rulers of Russia. Count Schouvaloff was born in the year 1828, and at an early age entered the military service. In 1854 he was advanced to the rank of general, and afterwards filled the offices of military attaché in Paris, functionary in the Ministry of the Interior, and Governor-General of the Baltic provinces. Greatly to the surprise of society in St. Petersburg, in 1866—that is, when he was only thirty-eight years of age—Count Schouvaloff was appointed to the post of Chief of the Secret Police, third section of the Imperial Chancellerie. From the peculiar and delicate duties attaching to it, this position renders the holder of the office second only in importance and power to the Emperor himself.

Before describing the effective manner in which the Count acquitted himself in his new functions, some explanation of the nature of the office itself must be furnished on behalf of the reader who may not be acquainted with the *modus operandi* of the chiefs of the Russian Secret Police. This we are fortunately enabled to do from a work published in Germany, entitled "Saint Petersburg Society," which has been translated into English. It appears that in 1826 the secret power of surveillance, which had been abolished by a previous Czar, was re-established by the Emperor Nicholas. Under the title of the Third Division of the Supreme Court of Justice belonging to his Imperial Majesty, there exists an organisation "designed to bring into a more regular system the secret control hitherto more freely exercised over all suspicious inhabitants of the empire" There is stationed in every considerable Russian town a colonel or captain of the gendarme corps, who wears a light blue uniform, whose official sphere is not accurately defined, but who is recognised as the overseer of the authorities of the province, and who is entitled to demand all information concerning its affairs. This officer is visited after sunset by his *employés*, or spies. He is affable in his demeanour to everybody. It is his business to communicate everything which excites attention or deserves

notice in any way, to his superior, the chief of the Third Division, already alluded to, and who is the highest officer of the empire, enjoying the intimate confidence of the Czar, although he does not bear the title of minister. He is acquainted with the minutest State details, which in turn he makes known to the Emperor himself. "There is no limit to his power within the bounds of the empire. The surveillance of the behaviour of Russians living abroad, and the correspondence with the agents whom they employ, is carried on directly by the Third Division, who are in constant and lively intercourse with the Foreign Office, not infrequently giving it advice, which is scarcely to be distinguished from command. During the prosperous days, especially when Nicholas stood at the height of his power, and in which (to use the expression of a well-known and noble wit) 'the Emperor of Russia had only to sneeze, and the fowls in Spain went to sleep half an hour earlier than usual,' the claims which the Third Division made on the pliability of the Russian diplomacy went so far that, in spite of the exemplary patience and forbearance of the Vice-Chancellor, Count Nesselrode, there were not infrequently conflicts of a most painful nature. Who does not still remember the sensation caused by the proud answer of Count Pahlen, our envoy in Paris, when he was required to watch over the behaviour of the Russians residing in France at the time of the July Revolution, and from whom the Third Division had to submit to the words, 'I am a diplomatist, not a spy' *(mouchard)*'" For some years the important office of chief of the division was held by Count, afterwards Prince, Orloff, who in 1856 signed the Paris treaty of peace, on behalf of Russia. Orloff resigning office in 1857, he was succeeded by Prince Wassily Dolgoruki, an official who utterly lacked the firmness which distinguished both his predecessor and successor. The Third Division now sank in influence and position, and in 1866 Dolgoruki afforded a signal instance of his incapacity. A plot was formed against the Emperor's life, and this plot was matured without the knowledge either of the secret or the public police. While the Czar was walking in his summer garden, a student named Karakosoff fired a pistol at him. The members of the Third Division had made light of various hints privately given to them, "and shared the misfortune of the Governor-General of St. Petersburg, and of the head of the police, in not having arrested the person of the criminal, and made the man speak freely respecting himself and his associates." Under these circumstances, and finding the office too much for him, the noble head of the department resigned his functions. Great difficulty was experienced in the appointment of his successor, when just at this critical juncture it was found that Count Peter Schouvaloff, Governor-General of Livonia and Courland, had arrived in the capital to tender his thanks for the dignity lately conferred upon him, and to receive in person the golden cords of office. The Count had many advantages; he was a *parfait gentilhomme*, credited with a fine sense of honour; all the members of the Imperial family had known him from infancy; and he had already proved himself a capable administrator. The Count consequently received the appointment. "The new chief of the Third Division furnished a brilliant proof of his capability on the very first day of his appointment. In Karakosoff's abode there had been found a number of pieces of paper, torn into shreds, with which no one knew what to do, although they alone could lead to an explanation as to the real name of the obdurate and mute miscreant and of those of his accomplices. Schouvaloff sent for a plate of glass, and ordered the scraps of paper, which were written on both sides, to be placed upon it; these were placed and re-placed, and read backwards and forwards, until the connection was formed; and thus the secret was unravelled which had before seemed impenetrable. Equally successfully did the rising young statesman endure the difficult task of sitting in the Court summoned for the investigation of the outrage,

side by side with the rough, low-minded Muravieff, avoiding all dispute with the man, and, nevertheless, overturning all his reactionary efforts for the extermination of culture and liberty."

In Russia the powerful and successful diplomatist is a mark for envy and intrigue. Having attained the position of first subject of the empire before reaching his fortieth year, there is little ground for surprise, therefore, that Count Schouvaloff should have made many foes. Upon this point the writer to whom we are already indebted observes, "As an advocate of the national democratic ultras, the chief of the Third Division rejoices in the special hostility of the Miliutin clique (Dimitri Miliutin is Minister for War, and his brother Nicholas was Secretary of State for Poland, and leader of the national party); with the heir-apparent he has had many a quarrel, because he has discovered the young nobleman's correspondence with Aksakoff and other Slavophilists; the Liberal party of the nobility cannot pardon their former colleague for the fact that, at his instigation, in the year 1867, the refractory Petersburg Provincial Assembly was closed, and the head of it (Schouvaloff's own cousin) sent abroad; the Empress regards the Count as a bad Christian, because he has repeatedly successfully opposed her fanatical confessor; Ignatieff and the men of the Panslavist coterie hate in Schouvaloff the peace-loving realist, who has shown no feeling nor appreciation either for Czechic lamentations or for Galician remonstrances, and who, under all circumstances, keeps in view the advantage of the State, and who knows too accurately the weaknesses of the existing order of things to wish, unless utterly obliged, to put them to the test of unprepared Eastern adventure." Schouvaloff's position, in consequence of the machinations of his enemies, was more than once endangered, but, at the critical moment, the Emperor stood by him, and he acquired such power as to procure for himself the name of Peter the Fourth. In the year 1872 Schouvaloff was despatched by the Czar to Nice, with the reputed object of breaking off the secret union between the court lady Alexandrine Shukowski and the Grand Duke Alexis; but the diplomatist who had unravelled the threads of many secret conspiracies was in this instance baffled by a woman.

Affairs in Central Asia became the all-absorbing topic of conversation both in the English and the Russian capital towards the close of 1872. The Court of St. James's was disturbed by the attitude of Russia in Afghanistan, and British interests were threatened by the hostilities which broke out between Russia and Khiva. In January, 1873, therefore, Count Schouvaloff, who was represented as enjoying the special confidence of the Czar in this matter, was despatched to England in order to tender certain explanations regarding the intended expedition to Khiva, as well as to elucidate other points of Russian policy which appeared inimical to the English Cabinet. An account of this mission was subsequently given by Earl Granville in a despatch to Her Majesty's Minister at St. Petersburg. The following is the substance of the despatch:—

"With regard to the expedition to Khiva, it was true that it was decided upon for next spring. To give an idea of its character it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four battalions and a half. Its object was to punish acts of brigandage, to recover fifty Russian prisoners, and to teach the Khan that such conduct on his part could not be continued with the impunity in which the moderation of Russia had led him to believe. Not only was it far from the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it, and directions given that the conditions imposed should be such as could not in any way lead to a prolonged occupancy of Khiva. Count Schouvaloff repeated the surprise which the Emperor, entertaining such sentiments, felt at the uneasiness which it was said existed in England on the subject, and he gave me most decided assurance that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on the matter. With regard to the uneasiness which might exist in England on the subject of Central

notice in any way, to his superior, the chief of the Third Division, already alluded to, and who is the highest officer of the empire, enjoying the intimate confidence of the Czar, although he does not bear the title of minister. He is acquainted with the minutest State details, which in turn he makes known to the Emperor himself. "There is no limit to his power within the bounds of the empire. The surveillance of the behaviour of Russians living abroad, and the correspondence with the agents whom they employ, is carried on directly by the Third Division, who are in constant and lively intercourse with the Foreign Office, not infrequently giving it advice, which is scarcely to be distinguished from command. During the prosperous days, especially when Nicholas stood at the height of his power, and in which (to use the expression of a well-known and noble wit) 'the Emperor of Russia had only to sneeze, and the fowls in Spain went to sleep half an hour earlier than usual,' the claims which the Third Division made on the pliability of the Russian diplomacy went so far that, in spite of the exemplary patience and forbearance of the Vice-Chancellor, Count Nesselrode, there were not infrequently conflicts of a most painful nature. Who does not still remember the sensation caused by the proud answer of Count Pahlen, our envoy in Paris, when he was required to watch over the behaviour of the Russians residing in France at the time of the July Revolution, and from whom the Third Division had to submit to the words, 'I am a diplomatist, not a spy' *(mouchard)*!" For some years the important office of chief of the division was held by Count, afterwards Prince, Orloff, who in 1856 signed the Paris treaty of peace, on behalf of Russia. Orloff resigning office in 1857, he was succeeded by Prince Wassily Dolgoruki, an official who utterly lacked the firmness which distinguished both his predecessor and successor. The Third Division now sank in influence and position, and in 1866 Dolgoruki afforded a signal instance of his incapacity. A plot was formed against the Emperor's life, and this plot was matured without the knowledge either of the secret or the public police. While the Czar was walking in his summer garden, a student named Karakosoff fired a pistol at him. The members of the Third Division had made light of various hints privately given to them, "and shared the misfortune of the Governor-General of St. Petersburg, and of the head of the police, in not having arrested the person of the criminal, and made the man speak freely respecting himself and his associates." Under these circumstances, and finding the office too much for him, the noble head of the department resigned his functions. Great difficulty was experienced in the appointment of his successor, when just at this critical juncture it was found that Count Peter Schouvaloff, Governor-General of Livonia and Courland, had arrived in the capital to tender his thanks for the dignity lately conferred upon him, and to receive in person the golden cords of office. The Count had many advantages; he was a *parfait gentilhomme*, credited with a fine sense of honour; all the members of the Imperial family had known him from infancy; and he had already proved himself a capable administrator. The Count consequently received the appointment. "The new chief of the Third Division furnished a brilliant proof of his capability on the very first day of his appointment. In Karakosoff's abode there had been found a number of pieces of paper, torn into shreds, with which no one knew what to do, although they alone could lead to an explanation as to the real name of the obdurate and mute miscreant and of those of his accomplices. Schouvaloff sent for a plate of glass, and ordered the scraps of paper, which were written on both sides, to be placed upon it, these were placed and re-placed, and read backwards and forwards, until the connection was formed, and thus the secret was unravelled which had before seemed impenetrable. Equally successfully did the rising young statesman endure the difficult task of sitting in the Court summoned for the investigation of the outrage,

Asia, I could not deny the fact to Count Schouvaloff; the people of this country were decidedly in favour of peace, but a great jealousy existed as to anything which really affected our honour and interest; that they were particularly alive to anything affecting India; that the progress of Russia in Asia had been considerable, and sometimes, as it would appear, like England in India and France in Algeria, more so than was desired by the central governments; that the Clarendon and Gortschakoff arrangement, apparently agreeable to both Governments, had met with great delay as to its final settlement; that it was with the object of coming to a settlement satisfactory to both countries, and in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, that I had addressed to your Excellency the despatch of the 17th of October." The campaign which caused so much solicitude closed with the complete submission of the Khivans to the Russian arms.

The circumstance of the happy marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh to the Grand Duchess Marie, only daughter of the Emperor Alexander, will be fresh in the public recollection. The marriage was solemnised with unusual pomp at St. Petersburg on the 23rd of January, 1874, and on the 12th of March following the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, accompanied by her Majesty the Queen, made a public entry into London. The royal progress evoked great popular enthusiasm. It remains to be mentioned in connection with this marriage, that Count Schouvaloff was entrusted with the preliminary negotiations in relation thereto with the English Court. The mission was conducted in a manner most satisfactory to the two Courts concerned.

On Count Schouvaloff being appointed Russian ambassador to St. James's, it was said in some quarters that the nomination was tantamount to a sentence of exile. This view, nevertheless, was erroneous. The chief of the Third Division longed for a repose which he could not otherwise obtain. Moreover, his appointment to England was not dictated by the jealousy of Prince Gortschakoff, but was owing to the personal wish of the Czar that Russia should have a representative in London who was thoroughly acquainted with her wishes and aims, and who, at a momentous time, could place before the British Cabinet Russian policy in a light conformable with the true intentions of the Czar. A Russian writer thus comments upon Count Schouvaloff at this later stage of his career:—"At forty-five years of age he had become the Czar's most trusted counsellor and friend; and as he had been for years the most influential man in Russia, it was a mistake to say when, in 1876, he accepted the ambassadorship to London that he had been promoted. During the eight years in which he was chief of the Third Division, and had successfuly defeated several of the revolutionary schemes of the Nihilists—a society which had grown up during his *régime*, and had become powerful—his energies had been strained to the utmost; the great cares and arduous labours of his position had made life burdensome. His affectionate and gifted wife, who was proud of his distinguished abilities and conspicuous station, saw with alarm that his health and even his life were endangered by the long strain; and being, moreover, herself of a retiring, home-loving temperament, entreated her husband to accept the Czar's appointment of the English mission, which would allow him the benefit of change and comparative rest. As Schouvaloff's uncompromising opposition to Eastern adventures in Russia's weak and unsettled condition was so well known, he was the more eligible for the English office. In the spring of 1876 he resigned his position as Chief of Police, and went as ambassador to England, where he has materially contributed to prevent the outbreak of a war between England and Russia; but his situation for the last year has been by no means wholly agreeable, and his rank has not saved him from even royal indignities, which may be said to have culminated in that of

his being officially presented to Baker and Hobart Pashas. Finally, at the time of Lord Derby's resignation, when the diplomatic relations between Russia and England assumed the most threatening aspect, the Russian ambassador, Count Schouvaloff, ceased to attend the Queen's Court. It is said that Lord Salisbury one day waited upon Schouvaloff, announcing that the Queen had observed his absence, and had expressed a hope for his early reappearance. This approach on the part of Lord Salisbury resulted in Count Schouvaloff's recent mission to St. Petersburg, and in the so-called Salisbury-Schouvaloff agreement, on the strength of which England consented to attend the Berlin Congress." This statement, which was penned in the middle of 1878, while probably inaccurate in some of its personal details, sufficiently shows the high regard in which the Count has always been held by the Emperor Alexander.

In the difficult and delicate negotiations which arose between England and Russia in connection with Turkey and the Eastern Question generally, Count Schouvaloff rendered essential service to his country as well as to the cause of peace. Early in 1878, and at a critical stage of the Anglo-Russian relations, the Count departed on a mission from London to St. Petersburg. This incident, together with the substitution of Prince Lobanoff for General Ignatieff as Russian ambassador at Constantinople, was supposed to point to a pacific solution of a difficult question. In the Russian capital the great desire was to bring about a good understanding with England, and it was believed that by Count Schouvaloff's means the preliminaries to a Congress would be arranged. As generally anticipated, the Count's mission proved successful. The meeting of the Congress was eventually arranged to take place at Berlin. Abroad, this was unquestionably regarded as a brilliant diplomatic triumph for England, and there was no case recorded in history where a nation had obtained so great a result with so relatively small a display of force. What greatly enhanced the credit of this achievement was the European character of the questions for which England had staked her prestige, thereby silencing those with whom the selfishness of English policy had been a byword. Yet after Count Schouvaloff's return to London the prospects of peace seemed clouded; but eventually the clouds cleared away. Much of the credit for this was given to the brilliant Russian diplomatist. He was described by the correspondent of the *Daily News* at St. Petersburg, as representing that portion of Russian society by far the most intelligent and the most European, which, while advocating every possible Governmental reform, was the most determined opponent of Panslavist Jacobinism. "This, under the cloak of nationality, orthodoxy, and autocracy, has for some time past made immense progress; it has urged on the war with Turkey, and so it is now agitating for war with England. The representatives of these sentiments and ideas, of which Moscow is the centre, and the *Gazette* of M. Katkoff the organ, are to be found everywhere, and some occupy very high positions. These view the arrival of Count Schouvaloff with great displeasure, and, dreading his return to office in Russia as the successor of Prince Gortschakoff, are exerting themselves to the utmost to oppose him." The same writer further observed that "Count Schouvaloff's acceptance with the Emperor Alexander is to be regarded as a sure proof of the pacific disposition of that monarch, and of his equitable intentions with reference to the future settlement of the East At his very first interview with the Emperor he is said to have assailed the treaty of San Stefano and its framers with rare frankness and boldness, representing the great mischief they had caused by risking the compromise, by a policy of adventure and giddiness, of the results of the brilliant military achievements, and of so many sacrifices. He pointed out that Russia was thereby placed in such a position as compelled her either to begin the work over again, which would

entail sacrifices greater than those hitherto made, while the issue would be very uncertain; or else resign herself to yield on all essential points. The influence of those who sought to prove the treaty no mistake, had till then preserved the illusion that England was not in earnest, and that she might, after all, be satisfied with the semblance of concessions. But Count Schouvaloff seems to have succeeded in destroying this illusion; and the impression produced upon the mind of the Czar by his unreserved statement, was reported to have been so deep that no efforts of his adversaries could succeed in removing or even weakening it."

The Berlin Congress met on the 13th of June, Russia having consented that the whole of the provisions of the San Stefano treaty should be discussed. While the Congress was sitting an incident occurred in London which threw the whole of the English political world into a ferment. The *Globe* newspaper published the text of a secret Anglo-Russian agreement, signed on the 30th of May at the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff. By this treaty, the Powers agreed that Bulgaria should be divided into two provinces, of which the northern one should be independent, and the southern one governed like an English colony, the Governor being appointed for five or ten years with the consent of Europe. Southern Bulgaria was not to reach the Ægean. Turkish troops were not to enter Bulgaria in time of peace, but only on war or insurrection being threatened. The superior officers of the militia in southern Bulgaria to be named by the Sultan. Europe to settle the organisation of the Greek and other Christian provinces. The Russian Government not to be paid its indemnity in land. Bayazid to be restored to the Turks, but Batoum and Kars might become Russian, the British Government holding that although this extension of Russia was a danger to Turkey, "the duty of protecting the Ottoman Empire from this danger, which henceforth will rest largely (*d'une mesure spéciale*) upon England, can be effected without exposing Europe to the calamities of a fresh war." Subject to these points, the British Government engaged not to dispute the articles of the preliminary Treaty of San Stefano. Failing the proposition, by common consent, of fresh modifications in Congress, the above Memorandum was to be a mutual engagement for the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Great Britain. But the British Government reserved to themselves certain points, of which the following were of the most consequence:—First, without touching on the territorial question, they reserved to themselves to discuss the question of the navigation of the Danube, in which England had rights by treaty. Secondly, the English Government reserved to themselves the right to discuss in Congress all questions relative to the Straits. But the Russian ambassador of London took cognisance of the verbal communication which he had made to the Principal Secretary of State, that is to say, the Imperial Cabinet stood by the declaration of Lord Derby of May 6, 1877, and notably, "the existing arrangements made under European sanction, which regulate the navigation of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, appear to them (the British Government) wise and salutary, and there would be, in their judgment, serious objections to their alteration in any material particular." And the Russian plenipotentiary would insist at the Congress on the *status quo*.

This very unusual document—whose publication was shown to be the result of departmental carelessness—puzzled equally the two political parties. In certain chief respects it ceded the points for which Mr Gladstone and his friends had long contended. But it had also other effects. The Government did not deny or affirm the authenticity of the document when questioned, but merely complained of its surreptitious publication; while Lord Houghton stated in the House of Lords that the change of public opinion, especially in France, which had followed upon the publication of the agreement had been most noticeable, and was most

painful to the dignity of this country. The document was subsequently shown to be in every particular exact.

The work of the Congress, chiefly remarkable for the dismemberment of Turkey, proceeded apace. When the Greek claims came to be discussed, they were supported by France and Italy with little or no reserve. Lord Beaconsfield delivered an able speech, in the course of which he observed that he would not have been in favour himself of having the Congress define the new limits of Greece, but he would, nevertheless, make no opposition to the plan which had been proposed. His lordship's speech drew forth a brief reply from Count Schouvaloff. The latter plenipotentiary said that the Slavs were the brothers of the Greeks, that there was no antagonism between them whatever, and that Russia would prove this by unreservedly supporting the motion submitted to the Congress. The resolution inviting the Sublime Porte to come to an understanding with the Government of the Hellenic kingdom for the rectification of the frontiers was ultimately adopted. By the subsequent acquisition of Cyprus under a treaty with Turkey, England was said to have stolen a march upon Russia. The Salisbury-Schouvaloff Memorandum was made the subject of debate in both Houses of Parliament. In the Lords it was defended by Lord Salisbury, who maintained that the secret agreement was nothing more than one of those confidential communications to which all Governments must resort, as part of their diplomacy. Lord Carnarvon and the Marquis of Bath, however, condemned the course of the Government; while Lord Granville remarked that but for the surreptitious report in the *Globe* we should have been simply dupes as to the policy of the Ministry, and as to the real unmeaningness of the histrionic display which they had gone through. Mr. Gladstone, rising during the debate in the House of Commons, asked how the Schouvaloff-Salisbury agreement could be reconciled with the declarations of the Government? They had categorically, solemnly, and frequently declared that the whole matter of the treaty of San Stefano was for the consideration of Europe, and that till it was laid in its entirety before the Congress they would not enter the latter. How would the Government reconcile their signing the agreement with the enunciation of this wholesome principle, and with the good faith which should prevail between one power and another? On this and the other matters embodied in Lord Hartington's resolution the Government, notwithstanding, obtained a large majority.

An interesting picture of Count Schouvaloff appears in a little work entitled "The Russians of To-day," consisting of sketches of various phases of Russian life. "A former general of cavalry," says the author, "who afterwards filled the office of Minister of Police, he has that quiet urbanity which nothing can ruffle, and that patience in listening (seeming to agree with the speaker all the while) which is a great art. Painfully polite with small folk, from whom he has nothing to hope; cheery when it is his business to look pleasant, and earnestly persuasive when he has 'assurances' to give; he is, perhaps, of all diplomatists the best fashioned for talking over politicians of shallow wit. Now and then the bluntness of the cavalry officer breaks out in his utterances, and he strokes his thick moustache with a scowl. But he masters himself in a moment. It must be a very stupid, shuffling minister who provokes him to grimace in this way, and he seems to reflect on second thoughts that it is not worth his while to be angry with the creature. Count Schouvaloff has a peculiar mordant wit which he uses upon occasions; and his contempt for popular institutions, journalists, and Liberal politicians, is so complete that it verges upon indulgence. Think of what must be felt towards Liberals by a former Minister of Police—a man who



has transported more of those gentlemen to Siberia than would fill Westminster Hall and Trafalgar Square too!"

The preservation of peace between Great Britain and Russia has been largely attributed to the persuasive eloquence and arguments, as well as the strong personal influence, of Count Schouvaloff. From the sphere of this influence, however, he has since been removed. In 1879 he received his letters of recall from the Court of St. James's. Various surmises have been indulged in as to the cause of this step, but its real grounds cannot obviously be known. One class of persons professing to have special knowledge of the matter have not scrupled to affirm that the Count is not so high in favour as he was formerly with the Czar. Other persons, however—and these, probably, the best informed—affirm that cordial and perfect goodwill still exists between the Emperor and his late distinguished ambassador in London, and that Count Schouvaloff will inevitably be the successor of the venerable Prince Gortschakoff when the Russian Chancellorship becomes vacant.

We may add that Count Schouvaloff is married to the widow of Count Orloff-Davydoff, an amiable and highly accomplished lady, who has always been a favourite in Court circles at St. Petersburg.

[The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company, Regent Street and Cheapside.]

SIR ARTHUR HAMILTON GORDON.

THE HON. SIR ARTHUR HAMILTON GORDON, G C M G , a distinguished servant of the Crown, comes of an illustrious ancestry. He is the fourth son of that Earl of Aberdeen who was Prime Minister of England during the critical period of the Crimean War, and who enjoyed the confidence of Her Majesty and the Prince Consort in a degree rarely accorded to the political leaders of the country. The lineage of the Gordons is an honourable and an ancient one. According to Burke, the Gordons, Earls of Aberdeen, and the Gordons, Dukes of Gordon and Marquises of Huntly, derive from a common progenitor—the Earls preserving throughout male descent, the Dukes springing from the heir-female of the senior line, Elizabeth Gordon One Patrick Gordon, who was slain at the battle of Arbroath, obtained charters under the Great Seal, from James III. in 1481, from James IV. in 1505, and from James V. in 1514. The family grew in substance, lands, and importance, until the time of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, who was second in command to the Marquis of Huntly over the forces raised against the Covenanters in 1630, and was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1642, by Charles I., for his distinguished conduct at the battle of Turreff. In 1643 Sir John defended the House of Kellie against the Covenanters, but being obliged to capitulate, he was sent to Edinburgh and imprisoned in a church there, which afterwards bore the name of Haddo's Hole He was subsequently tried, condemned, and executed at the Cross of Edinburgh in 1644 His estates were forfeited, and they remained under sequestration until the time of the Restoration The first Earl was the eminent lawyer, Sir George Gordon of Haddo, who, occupying the office of Lord High Chancellor of Scotland in 1682, was in the same year elevated to the peerage under the titles of Lord Haddo, Methlic, Tarvis, and Kellie, Viscount Formartine, and Earl of Aberdeen. The great-grandson of this nobleman was the fourth Earl, George Gordon, K.G , K.T., P.C., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.H.S., who was born in 1784, and was created a Viscount of the United Kingdom on the 1st of June, 1814 His lordship was twice married , but none of the children by his first marriage, with the daughter of the Marquis of Abercorn, survived. By his second marriage, with the relict of Viscount Hamilton and mother of the present Duke of Abercorn, he had four sons and one daughter; his fourth son, as we have seen, being the subject of the present biography. The Earl, who was one of the most highly-esteemed English statesmen of his time, filled various important public offices, diplomatic and ministerial, he was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 2nd June, 1828, to 2nd November, 1830, and again from 2nd September, 1841, to 5th July, 1846. He was constituted First Lord of the Treasury, 28th of December, 1852, and after an exciting and harassing period in connection with public affairs, resigned office on the 7th of February, 1855 He was made a Knight of the Garter; was also Lord-Lieutenant and Sheriff Principal of Aberdeenshire, Ranger of Greenwich Park, and Chancellor of King's College, Aberdeen. His lordship died on the 14th of December, 1860,

The fifth Earl led an undistinguished career, and his successor—who was born in 1841—after a life of romantic adventure, whose details were made public a few years ago, was accidentally drowned on a voyage from Boston to Melbourne, on the 27th of January, 1870. He was succeeded by his brother, the seventh and present Earl.

Sir Arthur Gordon was born in the year 1829. At an early age he was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating M.A. in 1851, being then only twenty-two years of age. During the momentous period of the breaking out of the Crimean War, 1852–55, he was private secretary to the Prime Minister, the Earl of Aberdeen. In 1854 he was elected in the Liberal interest member for Beverley, and sat in the House of Commons during the following three or four sessions. The hon. member obtained a respectful hearing whenever he addressed the House In May, 1855, when Mr Berkeley brought forward his annual motion in favour of the Ballot, Sir (then Mr.) Arthur Gordon supported him in a maiden speech. He voted for the motion, he observed, not so much because he thought it was likely to prove a panacea for the evils that existed in our electoral system, but in the hope that it might tend to eradicate, or at least materially to diminish, those evils of which they were all aware, and which they all professed at least to deplore. He did not believe that the most perfect system which it was in the power of man to devise—he did not believe that any amount of safeguards, of checks, of balances, of elaborately-contrived systems of voting—would be entirely sufficient to check bribery, so long as human nature remained what it was. So long as there were venal voters, so long would votes be sold But the hon. member at the same time believed that a measure such as that then proposed was very much calculated to check corruption in its grossest form. He thought that it would check the direct and scandalous traffic in votes that at present existed. But there was another evil connected with the electoral system, which appeared to him to be far greater than that of direct bribery—he meant the evil of intimidation—because, while he had no sympathy whatever with the man who trafficked in his vote as a piece of merchandise, and sold it to the highest bidder, he had great sympathy with those persons who, entertaining conscientious convictions, and desiring honestly to exercise the privileges which had been given to them by the laws of the country, were yet afraid to do so from the circumstance that they knew that their own prosperity in life, and the prospects of their family, might be ruined by a conscientious adherence to that which they believed to be their duty. With these men, he repeated, he had much sympathy, and it was for their sake chiefly that he supported the motion. Moreover, he saw no constitutional objection to the measure, which he considered would be productive of great practical benefit. Such were the principal arguments upon which Mr. Gordon supported the Ballot, twenty years before it became the law of the land.

On the 17th of July, 1855, Mr. Roebuck moved his vote of censure upon the members of the Aberdeen Cabinet in connection with the disasters to the army in the Crimea. In speaking upon this motion, Mr Gordon urged that in condemning those who undertook the expedition to the Crimea, others were condemned far more than the Government of this country. It was not any member of that House, nor any Englishman, but our great ally the Emperor of the French, who characterised those who opposed the expedition as the advocates of "timid counsels;" and the hon. and learned member for Sheffield would have the House declare by his motion that "timid counsels" were the counsels of reason and prudence. He should oppose the proposition because it was impossible to come to a satisfactory conclusion on the insufficient materials collected by the committee, because the members of the committee were not unanimous in supporting

that proposition, and because it was unjust to visit with a retrospective censure men who had already suffered to some extent from a vote of that House. He could not have rested content to give a silent vote on the question, remembering how nearly it concerned him that no undeserved censure should be cast upon one with whom he was so nearly connected—the noble Lord lately at the head of Her Majesty's Government (the Earl of Aberdeen), whose conduct it would ever be his privilege, as well as his duty, to defend, and whose honour and fame he should ever cherish as his most valued inheritance. Mr. Roebuck's motion was disposed of by a vote on the previous question, moved by General Peel. Amongst other occasions upon which Mr. Gordon addressed the House was one which did him peculiar honour. The loss of the *Birkenhead*, on the 25th of February, 1852, was a disaster which, from the circumstances surrounding it, can never be forgotten by the English people. Nothing, however, was done to commemorate this loss in a worthy and fitting manner for several years. At length, on the 18th of July, 1856, Mr. Gordon rose from his place in the House of Commons to ask the Home Secretary whether the Government would take into consideration the propriety of erecting, in the chapel of Chelsea Hospital or elsewhere, some permanent memorial of the gallant and self-devoted conduct of the officers and men lost in Her Majesty's ship *Birkenhead*. The hon. member said it was not an unfitting time, now that the Crimean War had happily terminated, to recognise services which, though of a peaceful character, were universally admitted to be as brilliant and distinguished as any recorded in our country's annals. He then detailed the circumstances of the loss of the *Birkenhead*—a disaster which called forth a remarkable display of gallantry and self-devotion. There were on board when the melancholy catastrophe occurred, in addition to the soldiers, a number of women and children and sick persons. What he wished to call attention to was the calm heroism, the stern adherence to duty, the magnanimous disregard of life shown by those brave men while the vessel was going to pieces under their feet. The only boats available were filled with the women and children, and sent off from the ship's side; so that the officers and soldiers, remaining on deck, deliberately deprived themselves of their only means of safety, and, calm and motionless, awaited the sinking of the vessel. One of the survivors afterwards stated that all the officers received their orders and carried them out as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom; that, indeed, he never saw an embarkation conducted with such an absence of noise and confusion; that there was not a single cry or murmur from any of the men; that just before the final plunge a suggestion having been made that all who could swim should jump overboard and join the boats, the officers begged them not to do so, because the boats were filled with women and children, and must inevitably be swamped if their living freight were increased, when the men replied by a cheer, and only three of them attempted to reach the boats. This act of cool heroism, which had been estimated at its full value not in this country alone, but abroad—and had done much to sustain, and even to raise, the high character of our army for unflinching discipline—was beyond all praise. After paying a well-deserved tribute to the commanding officer, Colonel Seaton, who had gained the affections of his men in an extraordinary degree, Mr. Gordon added that an equal meed of praise was due to all the other officers and men present on this trying occasion. The youngest officer of the regiment, to whom life was full of hope and promise, trod the deck by the side of his commander with as firm a step, and looked upon the ghastly horrors of death with as much bravery and composure, as those who had been longest inured to peril. He assuredly did not think it too late to mark the country's sense of the discipline and heroism of men who had thus calmly sacrificed their lives to save others. The House warmly cheered the hon. member,

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welcomed with a long-continued popping of guns, great and small, and with row and cheering, which lasted till long after I had walked up to the surveyor-general's house, prettily situated in a little garden of nice flowers" The account of New Brunswick from which this extract is taken is full of interest, and furnishes a comprehensive survey of the features of this province

In 1866 Mr. Gordon was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Trinidad, an appointment which he held for four years, being transferred in 1870 to the Mauritius. In 1871 he became Sir Arthur Gordon by being created a Knight Commander of the Order of SS. Michael and George. In the year 1874 the British Empire was enlarged by the annexation of the Fiji Islands. So long back as 1859 the islands had been offered by the king (Thakombau) and chiefs to the British Government, but they were not accepted. In the following year, however, the House of Commons granted a sum of £1,680 for expenditure in them, and various European settlements were made. Annexation to Great Britain was again proposed in Parliament in 1872, but once more declined. The long-proposed change was at length effected in 1874, when the unconditional cession of the islands to the British Government was accepted by Sir Hercules Robinson.

The closing scene in the transaction was thus described by the correspondent of the *Times*:—"The king and principal chiefs of the Leeward Islands discussed the terms submitted by Sir Hercules. The question was debated at length, and it was finally decided to cede the islands to Great Britain, trusting unreservedly to the justice and generosity of the Queen. This morning Thakombau publicly signed the deed of cession drawn up by Mr. Innes, the Attorney-General of New South Wales; and the signatures of Ratu Abel, Tui Bua, Ratu Savanaca, and Ratu Isikeli, were attached at the same time. Sir Hercules Robinson said: 'I accept in the Queen's name the cession in the spirit in which it has been offered. I think that in this matter the king has acted the part of a great chief, in consulting as he has done only the interest of his country. From my heart I wish Fiji prosperity, and peace and happiness to her people.' His Excellency intimated that he should not himself sign the document until he returned from his trip to the Windward Islands with the signatures of the other chiefs. In the afternoon, accordingly, Sir Hercules sailed in the *Pearl* for the Windward Islands. Ratu Savanaca, and Timothy the king's second son, were on board. The *Dido*, flying the Fijian standard, followed with the king and his youngest son Joe."

In commemoration of and after the completion of the cession King Thakombau sent his club as a present to the Queen. Sir Arthur H. Gordon was appointed early in 1875 first governor of the new British possessions. The first striking event after the annexation was a terrible outbreak of measles in the islands. So fearful a hold did this epidemic obtain, that 50,000 inhabitants were carried off out of a population of only three times that number.

Notwithstanding the fact that Sir Arthur Gordon was beset by unusual difficulties in this new governorship, his rule speedily proved most beneficial, and the islands made great progress. But in 1876, the year following the annexation, it was apparent that there were still a number of natives who were disaffected towards the British rule. In order to prevent a collision between these natives and the more civilised tribes Sir Arthur Gordon held meetings with the disaffected Fijians of the mountains, and assured them of the real goodwill of the Government towards them. He made it a *sine qua non*, nevertheless, that they must acknowledge the supremacy of the Government, they must abstain from murder, they must not carry off women from the Christian villages, and they must abandon cannibalism. He announced that all these things would be severely punished. At the same time he established a strong camp in a

and Sir George Grey at once replied that Her Majesty's Government were certainly prepared to take into consideration the propriety of erecting some permanent memorial to commemorate the magnanimity and adherence to duty of these brave men.

At the general election of 1857 Mr. Gordon was a candidate for Lisk eard, but was defeated by Mr. Ralph Grey. The following year he accompanied Mr. Gladstone (as his private secretary) on his mission to the Ionian Islands. In 1861 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, a post which he held for five years. The period of his governorship of this colony was comparatively peaceful and undisturbed. During his stay in New Brunswick Mr. Gordon made himself thoroughly acquainted with the country, and in 1864 contributed to a volume entitled *Vacation Tourists, and Notes of Travel in* 1861-3, edited by Mr. Francis Galton, that section of the work entitled "Wilderness Journeys in New Brunswick." The author wrote with considerable *verve* and attractiveness of style. The exploration of the rivers and forests of New Brunswick formed the chief recreation of his leisure time. As a specimen of his really admirable powers of description, we will cite a passage from the work alluded to, which also shows a susceptibility to the impressions of outward nature that may fairly be described as poetic:—"The Bay of Chaleurs preserves a river-like character for some distance from the point where the river may strictly be said to terminate, and certainly offers the most beautiful scenery to be seen in the province. I shall not soon forget my first visit to Campbelton, and conclusion to my ramble on this occasion. I had gone alone with one of our Indians up a pretty valley to look at a beaver lake and house—a structure more resembling a rusty haystack than anything else—and have seldom enjoyed a walk more. The views were lovely. Fine mountains were round about me—the picturesque 'Squaw's Cap,' the 'Slate Mountain,' and the cone of the 'Sugar Loaf;'—the winding reaches of a majestic river spread blue and sparkling below the heights on which I stood; cattle peacefully reposed in the shade of noble forest trees; comfortable houses were scattered here and there in view. Every breath of the pure dry air, every ray of the brilliant sunlight, seemed to bestow a fresh supply of health and joyousness, and my moccasined foot sprang with lighter tread from the green turf, and brushed more swiftly over the plants and low bilberry bushes which thickly covered the hill-side, with every glance I gave at the clear blue sky above, or the fair scene below and around me. My short canoe voyage from here to the mouth of the river was one of unmingled pleasure—except in so far as it was to be the last for many months to come; the river broadened out into the sea, and every golden hue grew deeper and warmer as sunset approached, and bathed trees, and rocks, and hill-tops in one rich glow; nor could the nine illegally-set salmon-nets which I saw, and duly noted, deprive me of the pleasure I received, not through the eyes alone, but which tingled through my whole frame. Where the frith was about two miles broad I was met by the surveyor-general and some of the gentlemen of Campbelton, in a boat manned by six red-shirted lumber-men, and followed by a little fleet of Indian canoes. The sun had set, but the western sky was all one flood of clear, transparent gold, against which the Gaspé mountains stood relieved in every shade of indigo and purple, reminding me of one of Millais' pictures. The sea was calm as the sky, and as golden, reflecting on its surface every hill and little fleecy cloudlet. The echoes of the cannon fired from Atholl House reverberated grandly in the Canadian valleys, being echoed and re-echoed from mountain to mountain, like prolonged peals of thunder, in the still evening air; whilst life and animation were given to the scene by the scarlet shirts of the throngs of lumber-men and the picturesque groups waiting on the quay of the pretty little town to witness my landing, which was

welcomed with a long-continued popping of guns, great and small, and with row and cheering, which lasted till long after I had walked up to the surveyor-general's house, prettily situated in a little garden of nice flowers." The account of New Brunswick from which this extract is taken is full of interest, and furnishes a comprehensive survey of the features of this province.

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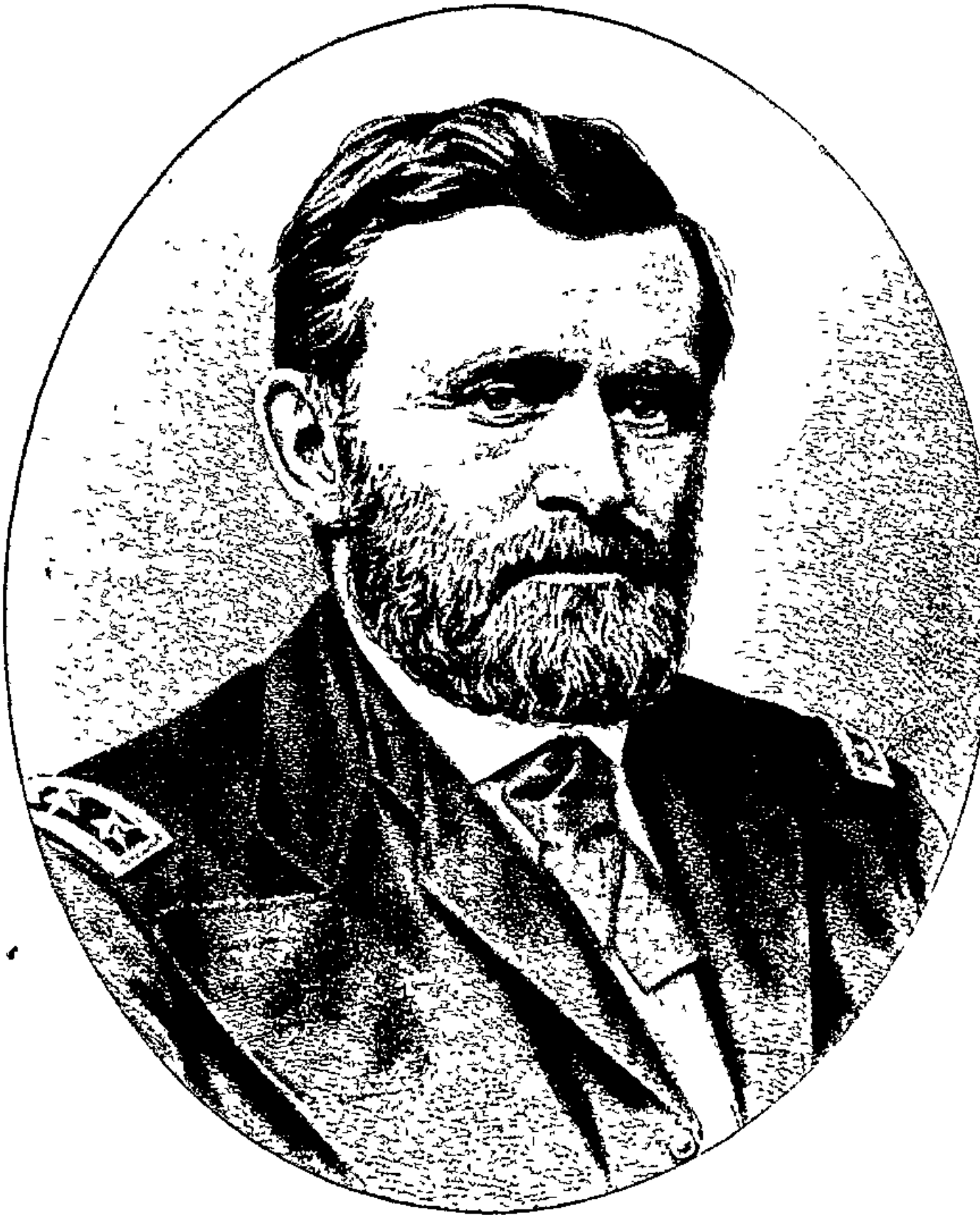
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district which, though for the most part heathen, was friendly. In his report to the Home Government, Sir Arthur Gordon thus described the progress of events:—"All promised well, and, but for the injudicious meddling of unauthorised agents and the working of certain tribal jealousies, I believe our objects would have been peacefully attained. But this was not to be, and on the 12th of April a force of mountaineers from the Lower Sigatoka came down on the Christian villages on the edge of the river, and on those situated on the borders of the provinces of Nadi and Nadroga. In the villages of the Baliri, on the Sigatoka river, they murdered and ate eighteen women and children. In their attack on the Nadroga villages they met with less success, being repulsed from all but the smaller towns, of which, however, they burned eleven. Almost on the same day they attacked some of the villages in the neighbourhood of the camp at Nasaucoko, and committed a few murders; but they got so severe a punishing from the native police by whom the fort was garrisoned that they attempted no more in that quarter. It was clear that these troubles must be put an end to, these outrages punished, and their repetition made impossible. I went down to the district, arranged a plan of campaign, sent to New Zealand for 100 Snider rifles, and proceeded to organise forces. I had a certain number of armed police (native) drilled and disciplined after a fashion, who formed the garrison of Nasaucoko. These, under the command of my *aide-de-camp*, Captain Knollys, I sent to the northern district of the cannibals, who, on hearing of the outbreak below, had given assistance to the murderers and fairly declared themselves in revolt. On the southern Sigatoka a large force was raised under my private secretary, Arthur Gordon. At Nasaucoko the garrison of drilled police was replaced by levies from various provinces, under another of my personal staff, Mr. Le Hunte. These armies were to co-operate and prevent the escape of Kaicolo to the wooded and inaccessible regions of the great central range. The object aimed at was the capture of the Baliri murderers and the subjugation of those who protected them." The governor successfully accomplished his object. The forces he employed broke the power of the cannibal tribes along the whole line of operations, and captured a large number of the worst criminals. Thirty-five of these prisoners were tried at or near the scenes of the murders of which they were found guilty. The governor commuted the capital sentence in the case of the greater number, but fifteen were condemned to death. This sharp but necessary lesson had a salutary effect in teaching the mountain tribes that they would not be allowed to pillage and ravage with impunity. Sir Arthur Gordon continued to administer the affairs of our new colony with firmness and judgment. In 1877 he was appointed Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Consul-General for the Western Pacific. In this capacity the Governor of Fiji concluded a treaty with the native ruler of the Samoan Islands, for the establishment on those islands of a British coaling station and naval depôt.

On the appointment of Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of Cape Colony, in 1880, Sir A. H. Gordon became his successor in the Governorship of New Zealand.

In the year 1875 an important correspondence took place between Sir Arthur Gordon and the late Earl Russell, arising out of the volume of "Recollections" published by the eminent Whig statesman. This correspondence was originally printed in the *Times*, and afterwards republished by permission. On the issue of Earl Russell's work Sir Arthur Gordon wrote to the noble and venerable author, expressing the interest and pleasure with which he had read his volume, but at the same time drawing his lordship's attention to a statement which had caused him much surprise. In dealing with the conduct of the negotiations which preceded the Crimean War, Lord Russell remarked:—"The Austrian Government had framed a Note of conciliation,



GENERAL GRANT

General Grant.

THE genealogists have been busy with the ancestry of General Grant, as with that of most men who have risen to celebrity. The great soldier may have been amused by learning that he has in his veins some of the best blood of the colonial families. An early ancestor of the General's is said to have been Mr. Matthew Grant, who settled in America in 1630. General Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Claremont County, Ohio, on the 27th April, 1822. The name by which he is known to history is not that which he received at his baptism. He was christened Hiram Ulysses, but Mr. Hamer, the member of Congress who obtained his commission, by mistake sent in his name as Ulysses Simpson. The error was not corrected, and so he goes down to posterity under a name not his own. His early life was not marked by any of those preliminary signs of greatness which have heralded the after careers of many of the world's rulers. He seems to have been considered neither particularly clever nor especially stupid as a schoolboy. The only remarkable fact in his earlier years which the diligent biographer has been able to discover is that he was extremely fond of horses, an excellent horseman, and that on one occasion, impatient at the absence of some labourers of his father, he managed to do the work of several men himself The State of Ohio was, in the days of Grant's boyhood, comparatively young, and the greater part of its inhabitants had to spend their time in clearing away the primeval forests. The consequence was that young Grant did not receive any great advantage of education. He expressed at a very early period of his life a desire for the military career, but it was not without some little difficulty that his father succeeded in getting him placed.

At West Point he attracted attention by his character rather than by his intellect. He was supposed to be imperturbably good-natured, and to be very averse to hostile encounters, but he seems to have impressed his companions with the idea that it was not very safe to venture on liberties with him. The time does not appear to have been altogether pleasant to him, for some of the Southern aristocracy carried into the military academy prejudices not quite compatible with Republican institutions, and he was rather looked down upon by the scions of families who could still boast of their large herds of slaves. At West Point, too, Grant made the acquaintance of many of the men whom he was afterwards destined to meet amid the boom of cannon and the bloody throes of a civil war. In his own class there were no less than four men who were after destined to take the position of commanders in the forces of the Southern States; and there were other class-mates who, less fortunate than he, lost their lives in defence of the Union.

Grant did not take a high place in graduating, being twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine. He then received a commission as second lieutenant. In the year 1845 it was decided that Texas should be wrested from Mexico, and in the expedition which was sent to the State under General Zachary Taylor, young Grant was one of the officers. His first action was the battle of Palo Alto,

and it was observed of him on this occasion that he fought with cool bravery. In another of the many engagements that took place he attracted the attention of his commanding officer, and was made a first lieutenant in the field; while in yet another battle, a happy *détour* of his device gained an important position, and he was in consequence raised to the rank of captain by brevet. It was while serving in this Mexican campaign that General Grant met Lee for the first time. The future leader of the Southerners was then in a higher position, and had brighter prospects than Grant, for he was serving as a colonel on the staff of General Scott. When the two men next met their circumstances were strangely different.

At the close of the Mexican war Grant married, and after some service in other parts of North America, became full captain in 1853. It will thus be seen that he took from 1843 to 1853 to reach even a comparatively subordinate rank, and this, perhaps, had something to do with the fact that in 1854 he retired from the army. His retirement into civil life did not, for many years, bring with it any profit. Indeed, it must be said that Grant was a man who, had it not been for the pressure of circumstances calculated to bring out his extraordinary talents, would have died a failure, or at any rate unknown. He settled down in a small farm near St. Louis, and was content to earn his bread by such humble work as gathering wood and bringing it to the neighbouring town. This employment, naturally, did not prove very lucrative, and he sought for means of adding to his income. He is said to have tried his hand as a collector of debts—not usually considered a very pleasant or excellent office—as a house agent, and to have been an unsuccessful candidate for the post of County Engineer. The struggle was at last given up, evidently in despair, for in 1859 he quitted Missouri for Illinois, where his father and younger brother still carried on the business of tanners and leather-dealers. Here he lived quietly for several years, a model of the quiet citizen who is supposed to trouble himself in no way about public affairs or the concerns of others. It is said that he did not even cast a vote until 1860, and that he then recorded it against Abraham Lincoln. Indeed, the war found Grant probably as obscure an individual, so far as public fame or notoriety was concerned, as any man in the United States.

At last came the Civil War, and with it Grant's opportunity. The moment President Lincoln made his first call for troops, the tanner was ready to abjure leather, and to enter on the career for which he probably felt instinctively his own special fitness. He modestly wrote to the Governor of his State to declare his readiness to accept any position "where he could be useful," and meantime set about enrolling volunteers. He soon showed his power as an organiser of men; and when the time came for the employment of his forces, he had brought them to a state of discipline not very usual among raw and inexperienced troops drawn suddenly from civil life. It is reported that while he was still without definite position he sought an interview with General McClellan, who was then regarded as the destined Napoleon of the great conflict. The two men had been fellow-officers in olden times; but McClellan was too great a being in those days to be easily reached, and the fortunately disappointed applicant had to return home. The Governor of Illinois was more appreciative of Grant's talents, and through his interest he became colonel of the regiment of volunteers he had raised. Sent on duty to the South, he soon attained the rank of brigadier-general. It was not long before he gave proof of that promptitude and coolness, fearlessness and tenacity of purpose, which afterwards were the chief elements in his success. He had a difficult post, for he had to watch Kentucky, a State where opinions were divided and the cause of the Union met with by no means unanimous support.

He checkmated the Kentucky governor, who was but too well disposed towards the

of wine. "Old Abe" listened in patience and calmness till the various remonstrances were finished, and then drily asked, "Are you quite sure Grant drinks?" Deputation in chorus, "Yes." "Quite sure?" again asks the President. "Quite sure," replies the deputation again, in chorus. "Then I wish," said Lincoln, drily, "you'd find out the name of his distiller, and I'd send some barrels to the other generals, perhaps they might learn to win battles as Grant does." But this was afterwards, and up to the time we have reached, even friends of Grant had not full confidence in his abilities. His poverty of speech and modesty of manner were taken to indicate meagreness of idea, and the only explanation of his achievements was that the good, simple man had "blundered into victory!"

The removal of the unappreciative Halleck to Washington did something to improve Grant's prospects, and he became Commander of the Department of Tennessee. He was not long in the new position before his capacity received a far severer trial than any through which it had yet passed. The most important fortress held by the Southerners in this district was Vicksburg, the "Gibraltar of the South." It is built on the range of hills from which it takes its name, and the promontory rises abruptly to an elevation of 200 feet above the River Mississippi. That great stream—"the commercial artery of the south-west"—had been freed from the Gulf to Port Hudson, and from its source until it came to Vicksburg; and for the rest of the way that fortress kept it securely locked from the Northerners. Grant determined to inaugurate a campaign against this keystone of the Southern frontier; but for many a weary month the Northern Commander met with nothing but disaster and defeat. Sherman, to whom the task of opening the attack was entrusted, was hurled back with a loss of 2,000 men. This was the first check, then came a second obstacle in the arrival of General McClernand, whom Lincoln wished to take a principal part in the campaign, and in whose abilities General Grant had, on the other hand, the most profound distrust. At last Grant, in the beginning of 1862, was allowed to take the affair into his own hands. At once he entered upon operations which astounded everybody, and alarmed even his own most friendly subordinates by their magnitude and audacity. He tried to take Vicksburg by changing the course of the "Father of Waters" by means of an artificial canal, upon which thousands of men were long employed, where dredges delved, dams were raised, and the river embankment was cut. The gigantic task had just reached completion when a sudden rise in the Mississippi swept away the dams, and the immense project ended in nothingness. Two more canals were attempted, and ended in like failure. The public grew restive, the press shrieked against the baffled commander, and the President was besieged with petitions to supersede him. Meantime Grant went stolidly on, and at last resolved on the apparently insane idea of attempting to send his troops in transports down the river, right under the guns of the dreaded fortress. All his officers opposed the idea; but it was carried out with complete success, and the story of its accomplishment is one of the most romantic and exciting in all military history. After defeating the Confederates several times in succession, Grant gradually drew closer to the doomed stronghold, and compelled it at last to surrender, together with the 18,000 men who had composed its garrison. This happy event took place on a memorable day, the 4th of July, 1863, and fully established Grant's position. Shortly after this the victorious general was called to a new and almost more important command. General Rosecranz was defeated at Chickamanga, and obliged to fall back on Chattanooga; and such was the distress to which his army was reduced, and so imminent the danger around, that he had almost decided to abandon his position. Chattanooga was regarded as one of the most vital strategic points. Grant, who had been called up to see Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of

War, was appointed to the position of Rosecranz, and his very first act was to forbid the surrender of Chattanooga. Before long he completely transformed the situation. The Southern Commander, General Bragg, who but a few days previously had been threatening Chattanooga, was now compelled to act upon the defensive, and shortly afterwards suffered defeat. It was soon after this that President Lincoln saw the necessity of appointing a commander-in-chief. The old title of lieutenant-general, which had not been conferred on any officer since the days of Washington, was renewed on the motion of Congress, and in March, 1864, Grant became general-in-chief of all the armies in the field.

The elevation of General Grant to this high position marked the beginning of the end of the war. He had made up his mind that the Confederation was not to be overpowered by small, or separate, or slow movements; and he resolved on a plan gigantic, combined, and ruthless. He determined that a joint attack should be made on the two great generals and the two great armies of the enemy. To General Sherman he entrusted the duty of marching against General J. E. Johnston; while he himself undertook the mighty task of advancing against General Lee and Richmond, the capital of the Confederation. There is not in human history, perhaps, a more wonderful example of the inflexible pursuit of a purpose than this campaign. He reorganised his forces in the single month of April, and on May 4th, 1864, he began his march. He was attacked in a place called the "Wilderness"—"a tract of land," writes one of the biographers of Grant (Major E. A. Jones), "entirely covered by dwarfish trees and brushwood, cut up by ravines and narrow streams." A series of battles ensued, lasting over six days. During this terrible time fortune wavered from side to side. The bloody contest, which began on May 5th, was renewed on the following day, and went on, with little interruption, till May 11th. It was on the morning of that day that Grant wrote a dispatch, containing another of those phrases which, as we have remarked, formed one of the epochs of the war. "We have now ended," he said, "the sixth day of very heavy fighting. The result to this time is much in our favour; our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy—I think the losses of the enemy must be greater." And having thus admitted the terrible nature of the fighting and the seriousness of his own losses, he wound up with this statement:—"I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." This supplies the keynote to everything that followed. It showed the thorough inflexibility of Grant's character, and his determination, come what might, to go on to his goal.

So the struggle went on: terrific battles, with terrific losses, following each other with awful rapidity; Grant, now foiled, now victorious, but steadily advancing all the time. Lee endeavoured to turn him aside by making a counter-movement and threatening Washington; but Grant, leaving Lee to retire or advance north, as he pleased, and taking no notice of the anxiety of his Government and the panic of the Northern population, advanced to Petersburg, which he considered one of the keys to Richmond. By the time he had arrived before the former place his loss had reached the appalling total of 70,000 men! Lee had in the same space lost only 40,000 men, but then the Southern General had an exhausted country, a bankrupt exchequer, and a decimated population to draw from, while behind Grant lay the exhaustless resources of the North. It was this consideration which justified Grant's apparent recklessness as to his own losses, and his ruthlessness in following out his purpose.

An attempt to take Richmond by a *coup de main* failed, with terrible loss. A combined effort under Butler and Grant was equally unsuccessful; and it was only between the 1st and 3rd of April, 1865, or eight months after the beginning of the campaign, that success re-

warded his efforts, and he became master of both Petersburg and Richmond. Lee, flying westward with the remainder of his army, endeavoured to escape from his fate, but he was at last surrounded at Appomattox, and at the Court-house there the great Virginian general, after making his last charge, was compelled to yield on the 9th of April. The surrender of the other armies of the south soon followed, and the terrible civil war was at an end.

When the time came for electing the successor to President Lincoln, the world of politicians and wire-pullers at once bore down upon the successful General, and there was an amusing scramble between the Republicans and the Democrats as to who should have the *prestige* of running the great popular hero as their nominee. Grant, after his fashion, looked down from his lofty tower of impassiveness and self-control on the wild contentions of rival parties, and held his peace. The Republican Convention managed to secure his services at last; and he was nominated as their candidate for the Presidency. His name overshadowed all other competitors, and he was elected Chief Magistrate by an overwhelming majority.

On the 4th of March, 1869, he was installed in his high office; and he delivered in a brief discourse on that occasion a very excellent and, at the same time, highly characteristic summary of his ideas as to the duties of his new position. He recalled the fact that he had not solicited the office which he held; and while declaring that he had a definite policy to offer the country, when the time came, he would always be ready to bow to what the opinion of the country might be. The most remarkable event in the first Administration of General Grant was the settlement of the Alabama claims. The comparative facility with which that most harassing difficulty was finally got rid of has made many people forget the real dangers which were at one time involved in it. There was the deepest bitterness of feeling on the subject in the United States; the popular sentiment, taken on the whole, was in favour of advancing claims which this country would have been almost certain to regard as exorbitant, and in a manner that our rulers would have almost as certainly felt bound to resent. Nor was this state of opinion confined to the masses. There were in the Senate many eminent men who advocated extreme views on the question; and even within his own Cabinet General Grant found hostility to his intentions. In spite of all this opposition he persevered to the end, brought about the Geneva arbitration, and so removed in a peaceful and satisfactory manner a difficulty which for years had disturbed the relations of the two great Anglo-Saxon countries. This single achievement would alone entitle the Presidency of General Grant to the rank of a successful and useful Administration. It would be useless to enter into any detail on the many other questions which arose during his terms of office. The Cuban question at one time threatened to seriously disturb the friendly relations with Spain; there being in the United States a strong under-current of sympathy with the efforts of the insurgents to destroy the connection of the island with the Home Government. It was very much due, too, to the President's initiative that that marvellous process of paying off the immense war debt was put into action, and that the United States have thus been enabled to get rid of their burdens in a way which has been the glory and the envy of other States.

When the time came for again considering the question of the Presidency, a strong party favoured the re-nomination of Grant. Opposition came from an unexpected quarter. There had grown up among the Republicans a section which was inimical to the President personally, and which, besides, differed from him on the question of his Southern policy. They were of opinion that the time had come for measures more conciliatory and less vigorous towards the States that had formerly risen in rebellion. This view agreed with that of the Democrats; and so a point of agreement was supplied between the two parties. Mr. Horace Greeley, who had, as editor and

part-proprietor of the *New York Tribune*, proved his thorough devotion to the principles of the Republican party, was ready at the same time to make the necessary concessions to the Democrats, and accordingly he was adopted at the Democratic Convention, and became the joint candidate of the Republicans who were hostile to Grant and the Democrats who were opposed to his policy. The opposition to the candidature of Mr. Greeley was both personal and political personal in that he was regarded as dangerously inclined to what Americans call "'isms," or, as we usually designate them, crotchets; and political, in that the time was not yet considered ripe for that policy of decreased vigour in the South which he recommended. The most interesting feature in the Presidential contest—at least, to the eye of the student of individual character—is the effect which it had on the private fortunes of Mr. Greeley. The excitement, followed by the disappointment of disastrous defeat, proved too much for his over-wrought brain, and his life of usefulness, and for the most part, of prosperity and happiness, ended amid circumstances of thickening disaster and darkest gloom.

Reinstated in power by a triumphant majority, General Grant had a more troublous time than in his first Administration. Party politics were terribly bitter in the United States; and the prominent position he had held for so many years made him the target for all kinds of attack. But the confidence of the country in his strength of character still remained; and it was for a long time seriously discussed whether he should be nominated as a candidate to the Presidency for the third time. He himself betrayed no anxiety for the post; and a letter of his to Senator Harry White was interpreted to mean that even if the office were offered to him he would not be ready to accept. Some unfortunate escapades by members of his Cabinet at the same time did much to damage his Administration; and finally, the idea of proposing him a third time was abandoned.

Released from the cares of office, General Grant was free to gratify that desire for travel which he had long possessed. He had apparently made up his mind to go through the world in his own quiet and unobtrusive manner, and with the modesty of the private citizen. Probably to his own great surprise, the world willed it otherwise, and he was received everywhere with honours scarcely less magnificent, and in many cases far more cordial, than those paid to royal personages. In England he was *fêted* and addressed and deputationised in a manner that must have been more than trying to him On the Continent he was treated with great cordiality: had interviews with monarchs and statesmen, and made throughout the different kingdoms something like a triumphal progress. In Asia, too, there was scarcely a Court which he did not visit, and where he did not find that his fame had preceded him. He was the guest of kings, the confidant of ministers; became the friend of the dusky ruler of Siam, and was introduced into the awful presence of the Chinese Emperor; negotiated with Prince Kung through interpreters, and talked familiarly with the English-affecting ministers of regenerated Japan. Nor even in those regions sacred to the silent Sphinx and the mysterious past did the reticent General escape from the modern infliction of deputations and addresses He accepted the position with such grace as he could command; and, indeed, in some of those strange lands—notably in China—he is said to have made his most successful attempts at oratory. On this tour he was accompanied by Mr. John Russell Young, one of the best known and most brilliant of American journalists; and in a volume entitled "Around the World with General Grant," which has attained enormous popularity in the United States, will be found picturesque sketches of the different scenes visited, and a life-like portrait of General Grant himself.

Once more landed, in 1879, on his native shores, he was received with a welcome which showed



M LOUIS BLANC

that his own countrymen were determined not to be outdone by foreigners in marks of respect for an American hero. In all the cities through which he passed there were addresses and serenades, the booming of cannon and the glories of torchlight processions, and all those other signs of public respect in which our American cousins display such enthusiasm and inventiveness. It was found that his absence from the United States and the honours which had been paid to him had tided him gloriously over that critical period in the course of the public man when he is passing through the transition from omnipotence to obscurity. He had had no part in the bitter personal and political struggles which had been dividing the country; and he came home unfettered by party ties and unembarrassed by personal animosities. Under these circumstances, the idea not unnaturally grew up that politicians might again have to seek in his candidature a resting ground from irreconcilable differences as to principles and men; and a third Presidency for General Grant became among the open questions of American politics.

General Grant is described by those who know him intimately as by no means the reticent man in private for which he passes in public. Mr. Russell Young, for instance, in the work to which we have already alluded, gives several conversations of the General, in which he spoke with frankness, intelligence, and sometimes even with brilliancy, of the men he had met and the times through which he had passed. Another common fancy with regard to the ex-President to which Mr. Young's book runs counter is that he is not a reading man. He is said, on the contrary, to devote a large portion of his time to the study of questions which really interest him. But the sphere of such questions is undoubtedly narrow He is not emotional, and cares little for those things which appeal to that side of human nature. Shakespeare is to him a hopeless problem, music an abomination, and the masterpieces of art no more than curiosities for which eccentric beings express an unintelligible admiration. But his knowledge on all practical subjects is wide and deep; and often in the discussion of such questions he evinces a surprising amount of information.

It will be evident that General Grant's part in the history of the world is yet far from being played out. A man of his strength of character can never sink into oblivion; and if the ship of State should approach stormy waters, the eyes of his country will certainly turn to the man who may be trusted as a pilot, whom danger only cheers, and who is calm amid the rage of ocean and the madness of the tempest.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company, Regent Street and Cheapside.]

LOUIS BLANC.

JEAN JOSEPH LOUIS BLANC, the eminent orator, historian, and Socialist, was born at Madrid, of French parents, on the 28th of October, 1813. His father was Inspector-General of Finance to King Joseph Bonaparte, and came of an honourable ancestry. On the maternal side, Louis Blanc was still more highly descended, his mother being a lady of the noble Corsican house of Pozzo di Borgo. At the age of seven, Louis Blanc was placed in the college at Rhodez, in the Department of l'Aveyron, his father's return to France having been necessitated by the fall of the Empire When seventeen years of age the younger Blanc's education had been completed, and he was regarded as an accomplished scholar The collapse of Napoleon had naturally a serious effect upon the fortunes of the Blanc family, who were now greatly reduced in circumstances. Accordingly, in 1830, we find Louis Blanc in Paris, supplementing a small allowance which he received from his uncle by his exertions, first as a mathematical tutor, and subsequently as clerk to a firm of lawyers. In 1832, however, he found more congenial employment, being engaged as tutor to the son of M. Hallette, a mechanist of Arras He had early begun to study politics, and on one occasion nearly drifted into the diplomatic service M. Louis Blanc resided at Arras for two years, contributing largely on literary and political subjects, during that period, to the *Progrès du Pas-de-Calais* He also carried off a prize for two poems and an essay from the Academy of Arras. Leaving Arras, he returned to Paris, where he commenced the career of a journalist. He contributed to various political papers, and speedily attracted attention by the charms of his style, and his philosophical and historical knowledge. In 1838 he founded the *Revue du Progrès Politique, Social, et Littéraire*, in which he first laid down, upon an intelligible basis, the broad principles of the Socialistic theory, of which he had very early become enamoured. During the first year's existence of the new journal, an incident occurred which caused his name to be on the lips of all Paris in less than twenty-four hours. It appears that he had published in his organ a review of Louis Napoleon's work, "Les Idées Napoléoniennes." Returning home the next night after this review appeared—in October, 1839—he was suddenly attacked from behind, and on turning round received a violent blow in the right eye from the stick of a ruffian. Being an exceedingly short and by no means powerful man, he was brutally beaten, and left for dead on the pavement. The author of this outrage was never discovered, but by some persons it was attributed to the police. As the result of his injuries, M. Blanc was obliged to keep his bed for several weeks. A most singular circumstance is related in connection with this dastardly assault. The younger brother of M. Louis Blanc was at this time at Rhodez. By one of those peculiar intuitions which have sometimes been recorded, the absent one seems to have been impressed with the idea that some disaster was befalling his brother Louis at the very moment that the attack upon him occurred. Unable to resist the feeling that was so strong upon him, he at once wrote to Paris enquiring after the welfare of

his relative. It is said that this strange incident gave rise to Dumas' play of *The Corsican Brothers*, which, it will be remembered, deals with the abnormal sympathy existing between two brothers

In the *Revue du Progrès*, M. Blanc ventilated his theories on Socialism with great energy and assiduity, his papers afterwards appearing in a separate form in the well-known work, "L'Organisation du Travail." M Blanc now obtained a wide and enthusiastic popularity. The French workmen immediately recognised in him their future leader. They were not only charmed by the brilliancy of his style, but captivated by the symmetrical simplicity of his scheme, and the freshness of the views advanced. The central idea of the work was the suppression of individualism, the author thus hoping to imbue the people with the doctrine of mutual interest and welfare, which must be studied and laboured for unselfishly. The Communistic principle was at the root of this idea. The writer opposed the system of individual and competitive efforts in labour, and advocated the absorption of the individual in a vast whole, where "each would receive according to his needs, and contribute according to his abilities." The chimerical nature of many of the views eloquently expounded by M. Blanc has been again and again demonstrated, nor has it ever been proved by actual experience that his central idea is capable of being translated into action.

In 1841 appeared M. Blanc's "Histoire de Dix Ans," which was concerned with the political history of France from 1830 to 1840 In this work the author gave a full and searching account of the revolution which set Louis Philippe upon the throne, and followed up this portion of his narrative by a deadly attack upon the Orleans dynasty. Louis Philippe afterwards declared that "it acted like a battering-ram against the bulwarks of loyalty in France." In his Preface to this History, M. Louis Blanc says: "I am about to write the history of my own day—a delicate and perilous task. The result of a rigid self-examination, instituted before I took up my pen, having been to acquit me alike of interested affections and of implacable animosities, I have ventured to infer that I am competent to pass judgment on men and things without wronging justice and without betraying truth. The cause of the noble, the rich, and the prosperous, is not the cause I serve; I belong by conviction to a party that has committed blunders, and sorely has it atoned for them, but I did not enter that party till the morrow after its last defeat; consequently, I have not had either to share in all its hopes or to suffer personally in its disasters. It has, therefore, been possible for me to keep my heart free both from the rancour of disappointed pride, and from the venom that lurks even in feelings of legitimate resentment." The work was exceedingly successful, which is partly considered owing to the exposure it gave of the scandalous jobbery and immorality of the Crown and its advisers, and "partly to that passionate ardour which changed the tranquillity of history into the vehemence of a pamphlet." In a literary sense, moreover, M. Blanc has produced no finer work. It combines the academic pomp with the energy and fire which come from personal conviction. Whether the author has altogether succeeded throughout in manifesting that strict impartiality which he claims is another question, and one upon which opinions will naturally differ, according to the political bias of the reader. Some of the statesmen of the Orleans monarchy were honest men, and acted, as they believed, in the best interests of the country which was as dear to them as to men of Republican sentiments; but M. Blanc's work could not have exercised so powerful an influence if it had not unmasked undoubted misgovernment, acts of jobbery, and oppression As a fair specimen of the author's eloquence, which is always clear, pointed, and forcible, we may extract the following passage from the close of the "Histoire de Dix

Ans:"—"Open the history of Carthage, Venice, Genoa, England, of all the nations famous for commerce, and you will see whether it was to timorous policy they owed the marvels of their opulence. I do not mean that the spirit of conquest ought to be aroused amongst us France does not desire the nations for subjects It is in her genius, seconded by the Powers that adopt it, to save the world, not to enthral it. Where the English establish their own supremacy by force, we sow the seeds of thought Gloriously incapable of fixing herself, France is like the Nile; she fecundates what she submerges, and she passes on. This is an additional reason why she should keep watch over her own strength, since the nations advancing to freedom would suffer by our weakness, and civilisation would be marred by our reverses" Then, after showing that the bourgeoisie is the natural guardian of the people, the historian continues: "If the bourgeoisie is nobly prompted, it can do everything for the regeneration of this country. Captive in its monopolies, devoted to the sordid passions to which the selfishness of its principle condemns it, it would ruin France and itself, possessing, as it would, but the smallest portion of those qualities which high policy requires. Instead, therefore, of standing aloof from the people, it must unite with it indissolubly by taking the first steps towards a system which should make association, not competition, the rule of trade, which should generalise the possession of the instruments of labour, institute the banking power of the poor, and, in a word, abolish the serfdom of labour. In such an enterprise there would be equity and wisdom, intelligence and charity. Gathering fresh, racy vigour from its contact with the people, and strengthened by its co-operation, the bourgeoisie would find incalculable resources in its recovered security. Peacefully and for ever victorious over the spirit of sedition, it would not fear to look the Europe of the kings in the face, and to restore to France the language and the bearing of *command. It would, moreover, in becoming the nation, acquire all the virtues it now lacks,* for if it has much to give to the people, it has much also to receive from it. It can give the people instruction, true liberty, and the treasures that flow therefrom; it will receive from it energy, the might of manly instincts, love of greatness, aptitude for generous devotion. Precious exchange! which would save and exalt our country by the harmonious employment of the will, and the virtues of all her children. As for us, we have never ceased to cherish this manly hope. It has sustained us in a task so full of sorrow and bitterness While portraying so many evils, we said to ourselves that they were not irreparable, that to put an end to them we must submit to the painful necessity of ascertaining their causes and extent; that a day will come when the long insanity of our intestine quarrels will cease; that brotherhood, that source of all-enduring strength and of all justice, will supersede our broils and discords; that France, in fine, will resume her influence over the affairs of the world, for the benefit of civilisation, and for the weal of oppressed nations *We should not have written* this book were it to have been but the funeral oration of our country."

M. Louis Blanc played a prominent part on the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848 In consequence of his immense popularity with the working classes, he was named a member of the Provisional Government. M. de Lamartine, in his History of that period, describes the subject of this biography as amongst those gathered at the Hôtel de Ville, "concealed amidst the crowd by his diminutive stature, but ever and anon revealing himself by the fire of his eye, the energy of his gestures, the metallic ringing of his voice, and the earnest activity of his movements." And in founding the new Government, M. Louis Blanc was "too enterprising in his ideas, and too dear to the Socialist sects, to be with impunity excluded from a government which was founded on popular unanimity." In describing the Socialist party, of which M.

Blanc was the chief ornament, M. de Lamartine observes that it was divided into rival schools, adhering to various doctrines. "These schools had hitherto agreed only in the more or less radical change they desired to bring into the social and traditional order of society; and while their theories all tended towards a better distribution of benefices and offices, the suppression of personal property, and a community of goods, they nevertheless differed as to the means and the degrees according to which this radical levelling of mankind was to be effected. Some were for effecting this by means of what they termed the organisation of labour; or, in other words, by the substitution of the arbitrary intervention of the government for the free competition between capital and wages—a sure means of destroying both! Such was the character of M. Louis Blanc's school, which, by establishing a kind of industrial and fluctuating communism, which nominally neither dispossessed the capitalist nor the proprietor of the soil, actually annihilated both, by depriving them of their independence, and which was equivalent to a confiscation of all capital, since it destroyed all interest." Although M. Blanc was nominated by the Government head of the great commission for discussing the problem of labour, he did not, in the difficult times which now ensued, occupy that leading position which was naturally at first marked out for him. At this juncture M. Marie, Minister of Public Works, began—but without M. Blanc's co-operation—to establish the so-called national workshops, which were to bring about the realisation of the Socialistic principle. Their end, however, only proved a dangerous and lamentable fiasco. As a good deal of obloquy at one time unjustly attached to M. Louis Blanc's name in connection with these workshops, it is only just here to state certain facts, now fully accepted and acknowledged. He really neither created nor organised the national workshops, but, on the contrary, was opposed to the scheme as carried out by M. Marie. M. Lamartine, speaking of the workshops, says:—"In the outset they exhibited no alarming character. They were merely an expedient for restoring order. M. Marie manifested considerable intelligence in his manner of organising these labourers, though their work was unattended by any useful result in the way of production, he formed them into brigades, to each of which a chief was appointed, and he inspired them with a spirit of discipline and order. From being a force at the mercy of the Socialists and the insurgents, M. Marie transformed them, in the space of four months, into a prætorian force. They were, it is true, an idle body of men, but they were commanded and directed by chiefs who secretly shared the anti-socialist opinions of the Government. Until the convocation of the National Assembly, these workshops formed a counterpoise to the sectarian assemblages at the Luxembourg and the seditious meetings in the clubs. They were offensive to the eyes of the Parisians, by reason of their vast magnitude, and the inutility of their labours, yet they several times protected and saved Paris, though that fact was not known to the inhabitants of the capital. So far from being in the pay of Louis Blanc, as was alleged, the workmen were inspired by the spirit of his adversaries."

While a member of the Provisional Government of 1848, M. Blanc—who has been distinguished for the advocacy of many advanced humanitarian ideas—formally proposed the abolition of capital punishment for political offences. Addressing his colleagues upon this occasion, he said, "I was, gentlemen, forcibly struck yesterday with the idea of M. de Lamartine, an idea which, at first sight, appeared to me too advanced for the present state of affairs, but which the generosity of the people has matured in twenty-four hours, and which they are, perhaps, capable to-day of comprehending and accepting, the idea, in short, of disarming the people of that punishment of death which saddens hearts, envenoms opinions, and imbues the conquests and even the virtues of the people in blood. I demand that we deliberate anew upon this proposition of

M. de Lamartine, and that we grant to humanity this gift, as a joyous welcome to democracy!" An order of abolition was drawn up and adopted in the midst of a dramatic scene. "After having heard it the members present rose, with an electric movement of enthusiasm Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Crémieux, Pagnerre, threw themselves into each other's arms, like men who had preserved the whole human race from deluges of blood." The Provisional Government surrendered its power into the hands of the National Assembly, to which M Blanc was returned as one of the representatives of Paris by 120,000 votes In the Assembly he brought forward and carried the motion for a repeal of the law by which the family of the Bonapartes was doomed to perpetual exile. It was to the abrogation of this law that Louis Napoleon was indebted for permission to return to France, and the same act, of course, indirectly led to that chain of events which ultimately placed the third Napoleon upon the throne. Before the elections were held, and on the 17th of March, 1848, a serious attempt was made to intimidate the Government by the populace. Louis Blanc had for some months preceding been the idol of the Socialists. Large numbers of the people surrounded the Hôtel de Ville, where Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, and others, calmly awaited their appearance A deputation was admitted, but their demands were so extravagant as to prove obnoxious even to Louis Blanc, though he was the favourite of the crowd. The Government maintained a firm attitude, and resisted the ultra-democratic schemes proposed, whereupon the deputation retired in disgust. An insurrection was plotted, but it was rendered abortive by the efforts of Lamartine and of General Changarnier. The elections were held, and the new assembly met. On the 15th of May, however, under the pretence of presenting a petition for the relief of Poland, a mob burst into the hall of the National Assembly. Louis Blanc was wholly opposed to this act of intimidation, but notwithstanding his remonstrances, the populace declined to be guided by his advice, though they still exhibited the utmost sympathy with and respect for M Blanc personally. His enemies, nevertheless, used this and other incidents as a pretext for an attempt to prosecute him, and his name was speedily again in the mouth of all the capital But these charges against the deputy fell to the ground, the proposal to prosecute him being negatived by the National Assembly. The sanguinary insurrection of June in the same year followed, and in the midst of the terrible excitement which prevailed, and when the minds of men were almost paralysed by terror, the old charge was revived, and M Blanc's proscription resolved upon. His liberty was voted away by the very men who not long before had confessed that no charge could be sustained against him. One of the leaders of the people was thus doomed to experience the fickleness of those for whom he had assiduously laboured At this time of peril and national excitement, he escaped, however, from the country, and took refuge in England.

In his exile, M. Louis Blanc devoted himself to political and historical literature. In 1849 he published his "Appel aux Honnêtes Gens," and "Catéchisme des Socialistes," in 1850 appeared his "Pages d'Histoire de la Révolution de Février," and in 1851 "Plus de Girondins la République Une et Indivisible." He also wrote a work entitled "Historical Revelations," which was intended to expose the misrepresentations in Lord Normanby's narrative of the events which occurred in Paris after the overthrow of Louis Philippe's Government—a topic upon which he was well entitled to be heard This book was published in 1859 But the work which has brought M. Louis Blanc the most enduring reputation is his "Histoire de la Révolution Française," which was written during his residence in England. Of this history it has been remarked that "it is characterised by extensive and original research, which has frequently enabled the author to reverse the common verdicts on historical personages, and to

explode many of the extravagant stories of the stormy period of which it treats. In style it is eloquent, bold, and dignified, and if its sentiments do not always commend themselves to the sober judgment of English readers, there can be but one opinion in regard to its candour, impartiality, and literary power."

One pleasing fact is recorded which demonstrates that the fierce political animosities which rage in France are not always allowed to interfere with the claims of humanity. During the time of M. Louis Blanc's greatest peril from his adversaries in the capital, he was sheltered in the house of M. D'Aragon, a political opponent. To this gentleman's honour it is recorded that he enabled his guest to gain the frontiers of Belgium, from whence he easily passed into England. Of all the political refugees who have sought a home in this country, M. Louis Blanc has been well-nigh the most popular and most highly esteemed. His high independence and the inflexibility and unwavering nature of his opinions have always commanded respect when they have not ensured agreement. M. Blanc was married at Brighton on the 25th of October, 1865, to Miss Christina Groh. During his residence in this country M. Blanc wrote to *Le Temps* a series of letters upon England, which have been much commended for their spirit and accuracy of observation. A translation of these letters appeared in 1866. M. Blanc has also occasionally written in the London *Times*, his English being remarkably pure and vigorous.

On the fall of the Empire, in 1870, M. Louis Blanc, with other proscribed political leaders, returned to his native land. He was offered the post of Ambassador to London, where it was thought his advocacy of the cause of the Republic might elicit active sympathy from the English Government. Immediately after the offer was officially made to him, however, by the Government of National Defence, the Germans invested Paris, and the Prussian staff refused to give him a safe conduct. The project was accordingly abandoned. He declined to take part in the insurrectionary movement of the 31st of October, though his name, like that of Victor Hugo, was placed, without his consent, upon the Committee of Public Safety. In February 1871 he was elected representative of the Seine (being the first of forty-three candidates) by 216,471 votes. He still holds a prominent position in the Assembly as a leader of the Extreme Left, having been again returned to the Chamber of Deputies at the last election. After the defeat of France by Germany, he still voted for the continuance of the war *à outrance*. When M. Thiers came into power, however, he gave a general support to his Ministry, though his views of Republicanism differed widely on many important points from those of the distinguished statesman who brought back to France a period of stability and progress. A full declaration of M. Louis Blanc's principles may be found in his letter to a Committee of the Eighth Circumscription of the Seine, September 12th, 1869.

In April, 1878, M. Blanc presided at a banquet of working-men's associations held at St. Mandé. Referring to the inequality of chances in the battle of life, he quoted the English saying that "some people are born with a silver spoon in their mouth," and urged that just as political association was necessary to protect the physically weak, so industrial association was necessary to protect the ignorant and the poor. The great aim of his life, he said, had been to improve the condition of the working-man, which was to the interest of all, rich as well as poor, for the isolation of the working-man signified servitude or death. He denied that association paralysed individual activity, appealing to partnership and marriage in proof of the contrary. Alluding to the associations formed in 1848, he attributed the failure of some of these to the inexperience or incapacity of their managers, and to the hostility of the

police, who suppressed the Central Committee on the pretence of its being a political organisation. He deprecated divisions in the family of toilers through the desire of temporary personal advantage, and urged efforts for the gradual and general emancipation of labour, without disturbing public tranquillity or injuring any legitimate interest

The centenary of Rousseau's death was celebrated in Paris, on the 14th of July, 1878, by that portion of the Extreme Left which originally advocated a joint Voltaire and Rousseau festival. The day above named was also the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille and of the Feast of Pikes, or Festival of Federation. The Rousseau Centenary meeting was held in the Château d'Eau Circus, and M. Louis Blanc took the chair. He addressed the meeting on Rousseau's work and influence in his usual eloquent and accomplished style—a style which is admired even by his political opponents. After alluding to Rousseau's works, and the various points in his career, the orator thus concluded:—"The Revolution let loose passions which added their bitterness to the struggle of ideas, and had the effect of exaggerating and obscuring them. Between the Girondins and Montagnards there was the same fatal misunderstanding as had existed between Voltaire and Rousseau—a misunderstanding of which at times Voltaire felt the absurdity, as this admirable expression of his testifies: 'Jean Jacques and myself are like St. Peter and St. Paul;' and why should we allow the recollection of those who have made us what we are to cast trouble in our ranks? Why should we weary ourselves in seeking what divides us when it would be so easy to find what unites us? Why should not our efforts tend to hasten the arrival of the moment when democracy shall be like the sun, which shines for every one alike?' Yes, you were like St. Peter and St Paul, the immortal creators of the new order. What boots it that, broken up by different points of view, and deceived by these differences, you did not know yourselves how you laboured in common? We know it, having learnt it by the blaze of the torches which you lighted. Be, then, united in our admiration! Be reconciled for ever in our gratitude! To wish this is, of all the marks of homage we can give, the most useful to humanity, and the most worthy of you"

A great working-men's meeting in favour of international arbitration was held in the Château d'Eau Theatre, on the 25th of August, 1878. To this meeting M Louis Blanc, who had been asked to preside, sent a long letter explanatory of his views on the important subjects of war, an armed Europe, treaties, the Eastern Question, &c In the outset, the writer observed: "You do not mean, I think, to ask Republican France to disarm when Monarchical Europe is armed? For military devotion to cease to be a necessary virtue, the human race must have attained its majority; and right is too far from reigning to dispense for ever with placing force at its disposal. But you doubtless think that while beware of preaching a policy of enervation, the educators of public opinion should pave the way for a situation in which the cannon, the final reason of kings, would not be the final reason of peoples" Louis Blanc next dwelt upon the compatibility of patriotism and cosmopolitanism, and then described, with great force of language, the horrors of war. In conclusion, he thus referred to the question of international arbitration, and the position of Europe as the result of the Treaty of Berlin:—"It is not everything to desire the establishment of a great arbitrating tribunal; the question is, of what arbiters it might be composed. It was as arbitrators, after all, that the present Governments of Europe were to solve the Eastern Question, and by their way of solving it one can judge of what the principle of arbitration would be represented by them The Treaty of Berlin gave nothing to Italy, because she had not made herself sufficiently feared. It gave nothing to France, because she was known to be absorbed in the work of restoration, and interested in being disinterested. It has taken



LORD AUGUSTUS LOFTUS

Bessarabia from the Roumanians, the comrades of the Russians during the war, because Roumania has the fault of not being a great Power But in return it has let England take the Isle of Cyprus, and abandoned Bosnia to Austria, because England and Austria are not reckoned among the weak. Lastly, it has given a large slice to Russia, because Russia could say, '*Norinor Leo.*' As to the duration of the Treaty of Berlin, it would be strange if it lasted longer than those preceding it. Meanwhile the Bosnians are oppressed to prevent their being oppressed by the Turks, they are slaughtered in order to free them. There is consequently something more urgent to-day than to preach perpetual peace, viz., to work everywhere for the triumph of the system alone calculated to render it possible—the really Republican system. War has causes which must first be attacked if the effect is to disappear. The substitution of arbitration for war would be an excellent thing, but it will come only when peoples are cured of the malady of having masters." It will thus be seen that while M Louis Blanc still adheres to the political and social theories of his youth, he recognises the fact that the processes by which international amity and concord can be secured are of slow and gradual development.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by Messrs Rona et Cie, 25, Boulevard des Italiens, Paris.*]

Bessarabia from the Roumanians, the comrades of the Russians during the war, because Roumania has the fault of not being a great Power. But in return it has let England take the Isle of Cyprus, and abandoned Bosnia to Austria, because England and Austria are not reckoned among the weak. Lastly, it has given a large slice to Russia, because Russia could say, '*Nominor Leo.*' As to the duration of the Treaty of Berlin, it would be strange if it lasted longer than those preceding it. Meanwhile the Bosnians are oppressed to prevent their being oppressed by the Turks, they are slaughtered in order to free them. There is consequently something more urgent to-day than to preach perpetual peace, viz., to work everywhere for the triumph of the system alone calculated to render it possible—the really Republican system. War has causes which must first be attacked if the effect is to disappear. The substitution of arbitration for war would be an excellent thing, but it will come only when peoples are cured of the malady of having masters." It will thus be seen that while M. Louis Blanc still adheres to the political and social theories of his youth, he recognises the fact that the processes by which international amity and concord can be secured are of slow and gradual development.

[*The Portrait accompanying this Biography is copied from a Photograph by Messrs Roma et Cie, 25, Boulevard des Italiens, Paris.*]

mediately, and subject to some deductions not yet settled. His Excellency has represented to the Government of Her Majesty that it would be impossible for the Government of France to pay such a sum, and that it would be dishonest on their part to enter into an engagement for a payment which they know it would be absolutely beyond their power to fulfil, and they urge the Government of Her Majesty to represent to the German Government the impossibility of such a payment. Her Majesty's Government feel the difficulties which arise from their ignorance of the offers made on the side of France, and they bear in mind that this country is one only among the neutral Powers, all bound by the obligations of friendship to both parties But Her Majesty's Government are willing, in consideration of the extreme pressure of time, to make representations to Germany on the amount of this indemnity, and to tender their good offices in the spirit of friendship to both parties, under the conviction that it is the interest of Germany, as well as of France, that the amount of the indemnity should not be greater than that which it is reasonable to expect should be paid." Acting upon this statement of the views of the English Government, our ambassador at Berlin at once seconded the efforts of the Foreign Office in its friendly intervention. The war indemnity of six milliards was subsequently reduced to five milliards, this sum being agreed to by M. Thiers.

In the same year that peace was secured, and on the 16th of October, 1871, Lord A. Loftus was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Russia. The Embassy at St. Petersburg has never been a sinecure, but less than ever has it been so since the time of this appointment. In 1871 Russia was in a disturbed condition internally, in consequence of the Nihilist conspiracy In connection with this sect, which held revolutionary tenets, going beyond even the extreme doctrines of the International Association, a remarkable trial took place at St. Petersburg in the month of July. The Nihilists began their agitation with some students' riots in the spring of 1869; and in the autumn of that year a secret society was formed at Moscow, with branches in various other towns. The society was well provided with funds, it had a seal and cipher of its own, and in order to secure secrecy any breach of its regulations was punished with death. The association had its "sections" and its "circles," and at its head was a committee which exercised judicial functions, and whose members were unknown to the other conspirators. On the proposal of one Netchajeff, it was decided to take steps for inciting a popular insurrection. A series of inflammatory proclamations were accordingly circulated among the people, the object of the new conspirators being "to bring about a popular insurrection by a series of assassinations in the highest spheres of the Government, which would create such confusion as would enable them to work on the masses by false reports and misrepresentations of the acts of the authorities, and lead ultimately to that general disorganisation of society at which they aimed." The opinion of the Nihilists, as set forth in their programme, "seemed to consist simply in regarding with dissatisfaction, doubt, protest, and meditated rebellion every established ordinance. The Nihilist was a moral Berseker; he was positively absorbed in the one idea and passion of revolution; for this he was prepared to sacrifice everything. The present prosecution resulted in the condemnation of eleven of the sect to different degrees of punishment."

Such is a glimpse of the internal condition of Russia when Lord A. Loftus became our representative at St. Petersburg, and from that period conspiracies and rumours of conspiracies have not ceased to prevail in the Northern Empire. Even for strangers the Russian capital has not for many years been the pleasantest place of residence, for men are generally apt to

lordship's son, John, second Marquis of Ely, K.P., P.C., had four sons and five daughters, the fourth son being, as already observed, the subject of the present biography.

At a very early age Lord Augustus Loftus entered upon a diplomatic career, and before he had completed his twentieth year was appointed Attaché at Berlin. In 1844 he became paid Attaché at Stuttgardt, and in 1848 he accompanied Lord Stratford de Redcliffe on his special mission to the Courts of Berlin, Vienna, Munich, and Athens. Four years later he became Secretary of Legation at Stuttgardt, and the following year was transferred in the same capacity to Berlin. He was also Chargé d'Affaires in the Prussian capital from September 20th, 1853, to January 19th, 1854; from August 29th to November 22nd, 1854; from August 15th till December 4th, 1855; and from April 6th till August 20th, 1857. On the 31st of March, 1858, he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Vienna; and in August of the same year he was nominated by Her Majesty the Queen to represent her at the marriage of His Serene Highness Prince Leiningen with the Princess Marie of Baden, at Carlsruhe. In 1860 Lord Augustus Loftus was transferred to Berlin, and on the elevation of the mission in that city to the rank of an embassy, he was transferred to Munich, October 28th, 1862, which was on that occasion raised to the rank of a first-class mission. He was made a K.C.B. December 12th, 1862; was promoted to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the North German Confederation, February 24th, 1868; and was sworn a Privy Councillor on the 11th of November of the same year.

In July, 1870, great excitement was caused in Europe by the announcement of the Spanish Ministers that they intended to recommend Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen to the vacant throne of Spain. The Chargé d'Affaires of France at Berlin immediately presented himself at the Berlin Foreign Office, to complain of the outrage to French susceptibilities caused by this step. The Prussian Government replied that it was no affair of theirs. Seeing the storm that was threatened, Prince Leopold himself gave in his resignation of his claims. Some agitation had been caused in England by this candidature, and Earl Granville, as Foreign Minister, communicated with our representative at Berlin upon the subject. Lord A. Loftus accordingly, in a despatch to Lord Granville, dated July 13th, reported that he had had an interview with Prince Bismarck, and congratulated his Excellency on the apparent solution of the impending crisis by the spontaneous renunciation of the Prince of Hohenzollern. Prince Bismarck, however, appeared doubtful whether this solution would prove an amicable settlement of the Prussian difficulties with France; and he added that if a withdrawal or a satisfactory explanation of the menacing language held by the Duc de Gramont were not made, the Prussian Government would be obliged to seek explanations from France. In concluding his despatch to the English Foreign Minister, Lord A. Loftus said:—"The only means which could pacify the wounded pride of the German nation, and restore confidence in the maintenance of peace, would be by a declaration of the French Government that the incident of the Spanish difficulty has been satisfactorily adjusted, and, in rendering justice to the moderate and peaceful disposition of the King of Prussia and his Government, that the good relations existing between the two States were not likely to be again exposed to any disturbing influences. I greatly fear that if no mediating influences can be successfully brought to bear on the French Government to appease the irritation against Prussia, and to counsel moderation, war will be inevitable." Unfortunately, the Franco-German War, of which the Hohenzollern incident was one of the chief predisposing causes, is now matter of history.

During the period that Lord Augustus Loftus held the appointment of Ambassador to the North German Confederation, important correspondence took place between British subjects

residing in France and the English Foreign Office in reference to the loss of property subsequent to the entry of the German army into France, and also as to the sinking of six British vessels in the river Seine by Prussian troops. In drawing the attention of Lord A. Loftus to the latter question, Earl Granville wrote as follows, under date December 28th, 1870.—"I transmit to your Excellency herewith, without delay, a copy of a despatch and its enclosure from Her Majesty's Consul at Havre, and of a report made to the Board of Admiralty by the commander of Her Majesty's ship *Helicon* at that port, respecting six British vessels having been sunk in the Seine, near Duclair, by order of the commander of the Prussian troops occupying Rouen; and I have to instruct you to lose no time in calling the attention of the Prussian Government to this matter. With the information now before them, Her Majesty's Government cannot but consider the seizure and sinking of these vessels to be altogether unwarrantable, and the firing upon them, if it took place, a matter which requires the fullest explanation. You will express the hope that immediate inquiry will be made into the transaction, and the conviction that if no satisfactory explanation of the proceeding is given by the Prussian general, the Prussian Government will at once take such steps as the case, as it now stands, appears to call for." The ambassador had made the necessary inquiries with extraordinary celerity, and three days after the date of Lord Granville's despatch replied to the Foreign Secretary as follows:—"I lost no time in bringing this matter under the notice of Baron Thile, and, in conformity with your lordship's instructions, I addressed a note to his Excellency, of which I have the honour to annex a copy. Baron Thile stated to me yesterday that no report had reached him as yet on this matter, and that he was therefore unable to express any opinion upon it, but that he would immediately forward my note to Count Bismarck. I have the honour to enclose to your lordship herewith copy of a letter I have this day received from Baron Thile, acknowledging receipt of my note of yesterday's date, and stating that it would be forwarded to Count Bismarck by this evening's courier." Count Bismarck replied to the English representations, expressing sincere regret that the Prussian troops, in order to avert immediate danger, were obliged to seize ships which belonged to British subjects. The Prussian Government admitted their claim to indemnification, and would pay to the owners the value of the ships, according to equitable estimation, without keeping them waiting for the decision of the question who was finally to indemnify them. Should it be proved that excesses had been committed which were not justified by the exigencies of defence, the Government would regret it still more, and would call the guilty persons to account. Hereupon Lord Granville wrote to Lord A. Loftus, instructing him to take an early opportunity of expressing to M. de Thile the great satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government had learnt that the Government of the North German Confederation had so readily adopted a course which from its promptitude and friendly character promised, if carried out in the same spirit, to turn a painful incident into a means of confirming the good understanding which existed between the two Governments. A matter which at first appeared to threaten a rupture of the amicable relations hitherto existing between Great Britain and Prussia was eventually peaceably and satisfactorily disposed of.

Correspondence also took place respecting the pecuniary demands of Prussia upon France, arising out of the war. On the 24th of February, 1871, Lord Granville thus addressed Lord A. Loftus:—"Her Majesty's Government, without being informed of the other proposed terms of peace, understand from the Ambassador of France that the war indemnity demanded by Germany is six milliards of francs (£240,000,000), to be paid almost im-

be a cause to ruffle the good understanding between the two countries. His Imperial Majesty had agreed to almost everything that we had asked. There remained only the point regarding the provinces of Badakshan and Wakhan. There might be arguments used respectively by the partisans of each Government, but the Emperor was of opinion that such a question should not be a cause of difference between the two countries, and His Imperial Majesty was determined that it should not be so. He was the more inclined to carry out this determination in consequence of His Majesty's belief in the conciliatory policy of Her Majesty's Government. Count Schouvaloff added, on his own part, that he had every reason to believe, if it were desired by Her Majesty's Government, the agreement might be arrived at, at a very early period. With regard to the expedition to Khiva, it was true that it was decided upon for next spring. To give an idea of its character, it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four battalions and a half. Its object was to punish acts of brigandage, to recover fifty Russian prisoners, and to teach the Khan that such conduct on his part could not be continued with the impunity in which the moderation of Russia had taught him to believe. Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it, and directions given that the conditions imposed should be such as could not in any way lead to the prolonged occupancy of Khiva. Count Schouvaloff repeated the surprise which the Emperor, entertaining such sentiments, felt at the uneasiness which it was said existed in England on the subject; and he gave the most decided assurance that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on this matter. With regard to the uneasiness which might exist in England on the subject of Central Asia, I could not deny the fact to Count Schouvaloff. The people of this country were decidedly in favour of peace, but a great jealousy existed as to anything which really affected our honour and interest; that they were particularly alive to anything affecting India; that the progress of Russia in Asia had been considerable, and sometimes, as it would appear—like England in India and France in Algeria—more so than was desired by the central Governments; that the Clarendon and Gortschakoff arrangement, apparently agreeable to both Governments, had met with great delay as to its final settlement, that it was with the object of coming to a settlement satisfactory to both countries, and in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, that I had addressed to your Excellency the despatch of the 17th October." Lord Granville added that he was anxious not to see the matter complicated by discussions which might possibly be raised in the British Parliament, and on this ground also an early settlement was desirable. Some further correspondence took place on this matter, and in a despatch, dated January 24th, Lord Granville thus expressed the views of the British Cabinet to Lord A. Loftus:—"Her Majesty's Government cannot but feel that if Badakshan and Wakhan, which they consider the Ameer justly to deem to be part of his territories, be assumed by England or Russia, or one or either of them, to be wholly independent of his authority, the Ameer might be tempted to assert his claims by arms; that perhaps in that case Bokhara might seek an opportunity of acquiring districts too weak of themselves to resist the Afghan State, and that thus the peace of Central Asia would be disturbed, and occasions given for questions between Great Britain and Russia which it is on every account so desirable to avoid, and which Her Majesty's Government feel sure would be as distasteful to the Imperial Government as to themselves. Her Majesty's Government therefore hope that the Imperial Government, weighing these considerations dispassionately, will concur in the recognition they have made of Shere Ali's rights, as stated in my despatch of October, and by so doing put an end to the wild speculations, so calculated to distract the minds of Asiatic races, that there is some marked disagreement between England and Russia, on which they may build hopes of carrying



COUNT BEUST

diplomatic servants in any station or walk of life. As a general rule, the principle of promoting men who have climbed up nearly to the top of the ladder from the office of a junior unpaid *attaché* is allowed to prevail. Lord Augustus Loftus, like Lord Lyons and Lord Odo Russell, has been a diplomatist all his life. But in special cases the Government wisely reserves to itself the right, exercised always with moderation, to enlist the services of distinguished men trained in some other career. Sir Henry Layard was thus appointed by Mr. Gladstone's Government to the British Ministry at Madrid, and was afterwards promoted by Lord Beaconsfield's Government to the Embassy at Constantinople. The selection of Lord Dufferin as Lord Augustus Loftus' successor at St. Petersburg is a still bolder step in the same direction, and it is one upon which the nation will look with curious as well as sympathetic interest." On the 5th of March, 1879, Lord A. Loftus left St. Petersburg for London, having first taken a cordial farewell of the Emperor.

But although Lord Augustus Loftus thus resigned the very onerous duties of the Embassy at St. Petersburg for the more peaceful post of a colonial governorship, there is still every ground for expectation that he may yet render to his Sovereign and his country many years of distinguished service A public servant at sixty is generally judged to have a considerable span of activity before him.

It now only remains to be added that in August, 1845, Lord A. Loftus married Emma, the eldest daughter of Vice-Admiral Henry Francis Greville, R.N., C.B., by whom he has had issue three sons and two daughters The eldest son was trained to the diplomatic service. Of the daughters, the younger is married to Captain the Hon. F. A. Wellesley, youngest son of Earl Cowley. Lord Augustus Loftus enjoys the distinction of G.C.B., conferred upon him by Her Majesty in recognition of his long and successful diplomatic career.

Emperor of Austria, formally resigned the imperial crown. Thus came to an end that empire which alone truly represented the empire of the Cæsars; and upon the determination of the kingdom of Germany, that State was no longer, even in name, a united country acknowledging a common head.

Amongst the princes who took a prominent part in the formation of this league was the Elector of Saxony, who received from Napoleon, as the reward of his apostacy, the title and some perquisites of a king. By the Peace of Tilsit the King of Saxony obtained the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which had just been established, along with some small shares of Russia and Austria. In the battle of Leipsic he was taken prisoner by the allied Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces, and in 1815 was compelled to surrender the greater part of what he had received of Napoleon's "small change." We have referred at such length to the history of a kingdom remarkable hitherto only for its insignificance and want of national instinct, because fate had decreed that from such doubtful antecedents should issue a statesman, who, by rejuvenating an empire, might in part create a more enviable reputation for his native Saxony.

Frederick Ferdinand Count von Beust was born at Dresden, on the 13th of January, 1809, of an ancient and illustrious family, originally descended from the Counts of Brandenburgh. After the elementary training of his native town, he entered the University of Gottingen, where he studied political science under the direction of such celebrated professors as Sartorius and Eichhorn. He completed his law studies, and took his degree at the University of Leipsic. In 1831 he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Saxony, filled many different offices, made several journeys in Europe, was nominated ambassador to Berlin, and two years later was appointed to Paris. Whilst engaged as Chargé d'Affaires at Munich in 1841 he successfully carried out some useful negociations, not the least interesting of which was probably his own matrimonial alliance with the daughter of a Bavarian general. He then proceeded to London as resident Minister, from which post he was recalled, during the Revolution of 1848, to take the portfolio of the Exterior, but found upon his arrival that another ministerial combination had been effected, and he immediately returned to London. Later in the same year he was sent as Saxon representative to Berlin. Called in the Ministry of 1849 to the direction of foreign affairs in the cabinet of Held, he took an important part in the measures of restoration, or reaction, which marked the Saxon government of the period. When, as part of the great wave of revolution now sweeping over the Continent a disturbance broke out at Dresden during the early part of May, Count Beust called the Prussian troops to his assistance, a step rendered necessary by the fact that a great part of the Saxon army was then occupied in Schleswig-Holstein. Acting upon his advice, the king fled, and retired to Königstein. This abandonment of the capital enabled the chiefs of the movement to appoint a provisional government. Upon the change of ministry which followed the establishment of order, Beust resumed, under the leadership of Zehinsky, his former portfolio, to which he added that of agriculture. But more serious work than administering the foreign affairs of a second-rate State was now in store for him. The King of Prussia had been trying to unite Germany on a new basis. At his invitation, the representatives of a number of States met in Berlin in May, 1849. Austria at this time was at the very heat of her conflict with Hungary. Prussia seized the opportunity to propose that a confederation of German States should be formed, under her leadership, without Austria. An alliance, in which Beust took the most prominent part, was concluded in May between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, which was afterwards called "the alliance of the three kings." The results of this union were unsatisfactory, and Beust proceeded to the formation of a union of four kings, which union, with the assistance of Austria, upon

effect that the Constitutional Reichsrath would be convoked on the 18th March, 1867, and that the following important Bills would be then brought in:—(1) For the necessary modification in the Constitution consequent on the compromise with Hungary. (2) For the creation of a responsible Ministry. (3) For cohesion of the different local governments in the provinces. (4) For the alteration and improvement of the system of national defence. (5) For amelioration of mode of judicial procedure. This prompt action, noteworthy as it proved how thoroughly Austria's policy aimed at conforming itself with modern ideas, and Beust's despatch to the Austrian ambassador in Spain immediately that the destinies of that nation, for good or evil, had been confided *absolutely* to a National Assembly, marks a very new departure in the history of a country inseparably associated with autocratic government. The despatch, dated October 24, 1868, may be rendered in the following terms.—

"Baron Beust to Baron de Lago, at Madrid.

"Very far be it from us to manifest any preference for any individual solution of that Government question which is at present being agitated in the Peninsula: we only await any such order of things as may be definitely established. Hitherto the occasion has not been offered us of accrediting an official representative to Madrid; but we are fully disposed to establish diplomatic relations with the Government which, from the communication of M. Lorenzana, is about to be formed upon an appeal to the dictates of the nation, directly that its formation shall have been duly notified to us," &c.

Some years previously Austria had persistently refused to acknowledge Queen Isabella, and had declined any official political intercourse with Spain. This was because the existing Austrian Government placed a stricter interpretation on the Laws of succession than the Cortes themselves, and wished to uphold the Salic law in all its integrity. The Revolution of 1868 resulting in the explosion of a whole dynasty, subjected the continuance of Spain as a Monarchy to the votes of the people. Notwithstanding this radical change, Beust, accepting the persistent lessons learned by Austria from adversity, instructed the Austrian Minister at Madrid to remain at his post and to carry on diplomatic relations on the same principles as the representatives of France and England

In her relations with France, Austria's rivalry ceased immediately upon the cession of Venetia Although after the Treaty of Prague Austria had ceased to be a German power, her existence as a European power was perhaps more stable than it previously had been. As a European power it could not be indifferent to her that Prussia, whose supremacy was by the aforesaid treaty limited to the river Main as a political frontier, should attempt to extend her dominion to the immediate neighbourhood of Austria in the west. This formed a strong point of interest between France and Austria. One of Beust's difficult tasks was to maintain these delicate connecting links without committing himself to any particular engagement. How thoroughly such *entente cordiale* was brought about is proved by the successful journey made by Francis Joseph, in company with his Chancellor, to the Paris Exhibition, and the return visit of the Emperor and Empress to Saltzburg Such gratifying public manifestations produced the best effects, but Beust saw clearly how dangerous they might become, and therefore prepared qualifying alliances with Italy. The following despatch, dated 19th of April, 1869, explains the beginning of new relations with a united Italy Beust addressed Baron Kubeck the Austrian ambassador at Florence —"Since peace has re-established the relations which for so long a time have been interrupted between the courts of Vienna and of Florence, all my attention is now devoted to effacing the trace of ancient dissensions, and to prove that we

gaining the ascendant, he spoke one great truth when he declared with emphasis whic mated action, "We shall never have the Italians heart and soul with us until w extracted the '*Roman thorn*' from their side." His conversation is described as being a of Walpole without pedantry and Talleyrand without cynicism. As a musician, many works are favourably known in England, and the great diplomatist is said to have been little amused when he found one day reported in the London papers the fact that one waltzes, placed between the composition of Strauss and Waldteufel, had been playe Buckingham Palace Amongst the most intimate of his private friends in London had Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and Mr Arthur Sullivan.

Count Beust is doubtless the representative of a more ancient school of diplomacy t that which at present obtains upon the Continent, but his belief that the principal duty diplomatic statesmanship should consist in guarding the equilibrium of Europe represents principle which, compared with the grasping ambition of his neighbours upon the east, we and south, may be justified in the mind of our century by all the stern logic results Having defeated, upon the one hand, such ecclesiastical machination of his tim as in his opinion bore seriously upon the educational or material prosperity of that duple country which his wisdom had succeeded in creating, upon the other hand he has succeeded it arresting the progress of the blood-and-iron militarism which threatened to supplant the spiritual audacity of Rome by the military insolence of Berlin. His historic enemy, Russia, has made concessions which at the outset of Beust's administration it would have seemed absolutely impossible to obtain. When Gambetta was appointed Minister of the Chamber it was usually supposed that little cordiality could subsist between such representatives of the "old order and the new," but at the very first introduction the most cordial relations were established, which still exist in all their vigour, and which are most likely to endure to the end.

We venture, in conclusion, to quote shortly from a summary of his character made by a distinguished English writer:—"The grasping school, with its eagerness to foreclose and its feverish desire to annex, will have its day; but 'an insolent and aggressive faction' may lose its hold, just as the Vaticanists have over-reached themselves in the Church of Rome. They have centralised and encroached to such an extent that the Papacy of the present feels itself bound to repair, however tardily, the blunders of the past. This is the secret of raising Newman to the purple Count Beust is the Newman of diplomacy, and very few years may elapse before Europe may hark back to the old paths, feeling that the political aspirations of the future may be best discovered amidst the wisdom of the past."

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company, Regent Street and Cheapside.]



OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

THIS distinguished American poet and humorist is the son of the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, the author of a work entitled "American Annals." On both sides, Dr. Holmes comes of the best blood of New England. He was born in the year 1809, and his father has been described as a man of good intellect, of pure character, just, well-balanced, and humane; an industrious student and meritorious writer. In his admirable poem, "A Family Record," Dr Holmes has presented us with striking portraits of his father Abiel, his grandfather David, "the Deacon," and his great-grandfather John, one of the first settlers of the town of Woodstock, Connecticut The mother of the poet was Sarah Wendell, daughter of the Hon Oliver Wendell, whose wife was Mary Jackson, daughter of Dorothy Quincey. Consequently Dr Holmes is great-grandson of the lady immortalised in his poem "Dorothy Q." The Wendells are descended from one Evart Jansen Wendell, who emigrated to North America from East Friesland, about the year 1640. Mr. Wendell was a man of position and importance in these young days of the settlement of New England. One of his descendants, Jacob Wendell, who was living in Boston early in the eighteenth century, married the daughter of Dr James Oliver According to the family records, Mr. Jacob Wendell was a person of wealth and substance, for in 1735 he purchased the township of Pontoosuc, on the Housatonic River, containing twenty-four thousand acres. Dr. Holmes's summer residence is built upon a portion of this estate which has not been alienated from the family. Mrs. Jacob Wendell was the granddaughter of Mercy Bradstreet Oliver, and Mercy Bradstreet was the daughter of the Colonial Governor Simon Bradstreet, and of Anne Dudley Bradstreet, daughter of Thomas Dudley, the former governor and successor to Winthrop. In a biographical article upon Dr. Holmes, written by his friend Mr. F. H. Underwood—and to which we are indebted for many details in connection with the subject of our sketch—the writer observes: "Although we cannot pretend to say from whom all the traits have come that are blended in Holmes, still the reflective man will believe that, besides the many excellencies derived from the paternal line, some strain of courage and decision came from the Puritan captain Dudley, some perception of the beautiful and some plastic art from his daughter Anne; some elegant and urbane graces from the accomplished Olivers; some public spirit and probity from the Quinceys; some cosmopolitan breadth and good humour from Jacob Wendell." All accounts combine to show that Dr. Holmes is one of the most versatile and variously-gifted men in the United States.

The fourth child of his parents, Holmes was sent at the age of fifteen to Andover to complete his preparatory studies. The following year he was entered at Harvard University, where he graduated in 1829. Having given some time to the study of the law (like many other American men of letters), in 1833 he visited Europe. While on this tour, he decided to relinquish the profession of the law, and to devote himself to the study of medicine. Accord-



SIR HERCULES ROBINSON

claim—the American is more robust in intellect than the English poet, wider in culture, and superior in learning, his pathos is not so deep as Hood's, nor is his humour so rich. Still, in both, wit and pathos are commingled in equal measure. Let the reader compare the poems written in war time, and other of Holmes's serious lyrics with the ballad of "The One Horse Shay," or "The Stethoscope Song," for example, and he will at once perceive the poet's striking originality in both styles of effort. In some poems—"The Last Leaf," for instance—the smiles and the tears come together. In "The Chambered Nautilus," he rises to a still higher flight, and indulges in poetic fancy and retrospect worthy of our best singers. It is thus that he shapes the lesson of the nautilus, as through the deep caves of thought he hears a voice that sings:—

"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine own outgrown shell by life's unresting sea!"

Dr. Holmes married, in 1840, Miss Amelia Lee Jackson, daughter of the Hon. Charles Jackson, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Three children were born to them, viz., Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jnr., an eminent lawyer in Boston, and an able and learned editor and author of legal works; Amelia Jackson, widow of Mr. Turner Sargent; and Edward Holmes, who, like his elder brother, was educated for the legal profession.

Dr. Holmes, notwithstanding that in 1879 he completed his seventieth year, is of active habits and sociable and cheerful disposition. He was the chiefest spirit in the Atlantic Club, and years ago was mainly instrumental in forming another literary club which numbered amongst its members most of the prominent literary men of the time in America—but its ranks have since been thinned by death. It is stated that Dr. Holmes attends church at the Old King's Chapel, in Boston, where the creed is Unitarian, though the English form of worship has been retained. That the poet is a deeply religious man may be gathered from the most cursory reading of his works, but he shrinks, as Dickens, Hood, and many other writers would have done, from vaunting his theological opinions in season and out of season. With Longfellow, he enjoys the distinction of being universally popular in his native country.

[The Fort at accompanying this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Hardy, Bath.]

armed vessels—in some instances with risk and difficulty—and had, moreover, been officially reported to have prevented "serious misunderstandings" between the English Government and that of the United States. To crown all, the terrible Irish famine broke out, when "the Government stepped in to relieve this calamity by enacting a law, called the Encumbered Commission—as discriminating and judicious a confiscation as an avalanche of the Alps, or an eruption of Vesuvius, or the Souffrière—and my Herculaneum was buried under a shower of Parliamentary lava." It was an immediate ancestor of the Robinsons, Sir Hercules Langrishe, who, being asked by the Lord-Lieutenant of the day what was the best history of Ireland, replied with great wit, but melancholy truth, "A continuation of Rapin." After the Irish famine, Admiral Robinson applied for a colonial governorship, which his supposed acquaintance with the subject of our colonies, and certain antecedents in this regard, led his friends to believe he might administer with advantage; but, unfortunately, the Government which might have granted him his desire went out of power. The admiral lived to a ripe age, and, notwithstanding his disappointments, was happy and contented with his lot, and died in peace and charity with all mankind.

Sir Hercules Robinson, who was educated at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, served for some time in the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers. He retired from the service, however, in 1846, and during the next six years held various civil appointments in Ireland. In the year 1853 he was appointed by Lord Naas, then Secretary for Ireland, to investigate into the condition of the fairs and markets of the country, and the internal traffic of the island generally. His report, which was in due course presented to Parliament, disclosed a gloomy condition of things—the prevalence everywhere of outrage, and a system overspreading as a blight the entire country. Every man was seeking to wrong or outwit his neighbour, whilst the satellites of the patentees of the fairs and markets exacted arbitrary duties on articles not taxed by law—"enforcing their demands with brutal violence, and searching the persons of women in an indecent manner in order to ascertain if they had any taxable articles concealed under their clothes." One instance of the extortion which prevailed is thus reported:—"The collector at Roscrea demanded fourpence toll on a goat, which was sold, and produced only two shillings and sixpence, the purchaser refused to pay, on the ground that there was no such charge in the schedule. The collector seized the goat, and insisted on his right to exact the charge of fourpence, as he asserted the goat came under the head of horned cattle. All these things the Commissioner goes on to report, though apparently more ludicrous than grievous, being an insupportable vexation, prejudicial to the welfare and domestic industry of the poorer classes." Sir Hercules Robinson's report, with its accompanying returns, occupies no fewer than one hundred and sixty folio pages in the Parliamentary papers. In bringing this important document to a conclusion, the Commissioner and his assistant Commissioner observed—"It only remains for us respectfully to represent to your Excellency that the system which we have witnessed, by which the social commerce of the people of this country has been almost uniformly overlaid with various exactions, and they themselves struggling with fraud against counter-fraud, appears to us to be equally injurious to their moral character and their pecuniary interests, that the immediate correction of the abuses we have endeavoured to describe is essentially requisite, and that both the mercantile and agricultural classes entertain the most anxious hope that when Her Majesty's Government are made fully acquainted with the magnitude of the evils they will be disposed to encounter the difficulties of their abatement." The valuable information acquired and tabulated by the Commissioners

at a distance, these pretty boats, with simple sails, looked like a flight of nautiluses. Soon the harbour was crowded with other craft, large and small, loaded to the gunwales. Every nook on shore where by a possible contingency a sight of the passing Prince could be had was seized upon, and made a resting-place for eager Moors, or curious Tamils, or sight-seeing Eurasians, or dispassionate Singalese, for once roused into loyal curiosity. The landing was effected with a fitting salute, the Prince being received on the pier by the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, Major-General Kenny, Mr. Irving, Colonial Secretary, and other members of the Executive, and the judges, who were all honoured by an introduction. Beneath an octagonal pandhal, festooned with the richest flowers Ceylon could produce, and hung about with massive branches of ripe, luscious fruit, Lady and Miss Robinson received the Prince as he came up the covered way from the pier. The guard of honour saluted, the band of the 73rd Regiment struck up the National Anthem, and the *cortége* moved along the decorated way to the Governor's carriage, in which the distinguished party, followed by their suites in other carriages, drove away. The route to Queen's House lay through dense groves of fruit and garlands, arranged as Orientals know well how to place them with most effect, and through that long lane nothing was to be seen but dusky faces, white flowing robes, ripe fruit, and gaudy flowers. In the evening the Prince drove out with the Governor, and afterwards an official dinner was given at Queen's House. Portions of the town were illuminated with good effect, but the illuminations were soon disposed of by a thunderstorm, accompanied by a tropical downpour of rain. The following day a levée at Queen's House proved the most brilliant and numerously attended of any that have ever been held in Ceylon. The royal presence brought together chiefs and head-men who had not left their jungle homes for half a lifetime. Previous to the levée audiences were given to various deputations, with addresses from certain sections of the community Among these were the Chambers of Commerce, the Tamils, and the southern chiefs. The day's proceedings were concluded by an official dinner at Queen's House. On the 1st of April the Governor and Lady Robinson gave a reception in honour of the Prince, at which a great number of ladies were presented. A ball followed the presentations, the Prince dancing with Lady and Miss Robinson. On the following morning immense crowds of natives thronged the black town and outskirts of Colombo, anxious to look upon the Prince of whom they had heard so much. For miles away from town the wayside was decorated in the native fashion with fruits and flowers, festoons and arches met the eye at every hamlet on the way, and as each village boundary was passed the Prince was saluted by the local head-men and principal cultivators in holiday dress, groups of young village girls waiting to fling flowers and garlands into the carriage as it passed rapidly along to the Kraal, which is situated at a distance of thirty-two miles from Colombo, in the midst of most picturesque scenery, flanked on one side by Adam's Peak and its lofty ranges of hills. After a month's enjoyment of the sports of the island, and festivities in various quarters, the Prince left Ceylon early in May During his stay at Galle, from whose harbour he sailed, His Royal Highness received a deputation from the Galle Municipality. A writer, who has since published a work on the subject, has the following reflections upon the Prince's visit to Ceylon —"On the morning of Tuesday (May 10th) His Royal Highness was accompanied to the jetty, where, bidding the Governor of the island farewell by the grim old archway—beneath the gloomy shade of which many a stolid, drowsy Dutch sentry had aforetime dozed away the hot hours of noon—the Duke expressed the extreme gratification he had experienced during his sojourn in the country, and spoke of the pleasing recollections he should carry

entered into since 1871, the Queen's Government would have them carefully scrutinised and dealt with equitably, and according to the principles of justice and sound public policy. As regarded titles of land, whether made by *bonâ fide* or fictitious sales, and as regarded the king's pension and other smaller matters, the British Government would carefully look into these questions, and they would be settled on an equitable and liberal basis. The king would be supported in accordance with his rank and position, and it would not be necessary for him to draw upon the people for his expenses. It was now for the king simply to say whether he would make an unconditional cession or not. If the king decided that he would not make an unconditional cession, Sir Hercules would then have to arrange what must be done. He should like the king to decide then, if he wished anything further said as to the course the British Government would pursue in the event of unconditional cession not being offered.

In the course of the discussion which ensued Sir Hercules impressed upon the king that it would ill consort with the dignity of the British Crown to accept a cession subject to conditions, and that conditions such as those formerly proposed would render acceptance of an offer difficult, if not impracticable. The Home Government had no desire to undertake the government of the islands. If the king wanted anything beyond that justice and generosity which were to be expected from the Queen's Government, he had better say so at once, and this negotiation could terminate. The king must trust wholly to the Queen of England, or there was an end of the matter, for there could be no half measures. The land question was debated at great length before the conference terminated. Even at its close it seemed doubtful whether the negotiations would be completed, and on the following day the king and principal chiefs of the Leeward Islands met to discuss the points which had been submitted to them by the Queen's representative. The question was debated at length; but in the end the cession of the islands to Great Britain was resolved upon, and the king and the various chiefs placed themselves unreservedly in the hands of the British. A deed of cession was accordingly drawn up by the Attorney-General of New South Wales, and this deed was publicly signed by King Cakobau. His example was immediately followed by the most important of the chiefs (four in number), and thereupon Sir Hercules Robinson accepted the cession in the name of Her Majesty the Queen. He observed, in doing so, that he recognised the spirit in which the cession had been completed, and he considered that the King had acted the part of a great chief in consulting, as he had done, only the interest of his country. He heartily wished prosperity to Fiji, and peace and happiness to her people. Before his Excellency himself appended his signature to the document, he paid a visit to the Windward Islands, with the object of obtaining the signatures of the remaining chiefs. The cession, however, was finally completed, and Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon was appointed the first Governor of Fiji. But after hoisting the British flag on the islands Sir Hercules Robinson retained for some time in his own hands the virtual direction of the Provisional Government which he established in the name of Her Majesty the Queen.

During his stay in New South Wales Sir Hercules was equally successful in administering the affairs of this important colony as he had been in ruling Ceylon. He was extremely popular with the colonists. There is a mistaken notion that governing a colony—especially a peaceful colony—is an exceedingly easy matter. Assuredly, as it has been remarked, "the reins of government in an old-established colony like New South Wales—one which, having passed through many vicissitudes, has now entered upon a career of assured wealth and prosperity—may be easier to handle than those of a younger community, where elements are more unsettled and political passions run high. But there are, nevertheless, in the older colonies so

many difficult social duties to discharge, so much nice and accurate discrimination required to keep everything in equilibrium, that the governor who in charge of one of them earns widespread popularity has established his right to be considered a successful administrator in the fullest sense of the word. But Sir Hercules Robinson has also proved himself capable of grappling with the most difficult colonial questions by the admirable manner in which he dealt with the matters in dispute between Her Majesty's Government and the natives of Fiji. It may be that the annexation of Fiji has not proved an unmixed blessing, and that many difficult problems remain to be solved, but, at least, no fault can be found with the measures introduced by Sir Hercules Robinson for carrying on the government immediately after the hoisting of the British flag."

The truth is that Sir Hercules belongs to the very best type of the colonial governor. "Kind-hearted, full of *bonhomie* and friendliness to all who are brought in contact with him"—to quote once more Major Griffiths—"he is one of the most highly esteemed and popular men in the service of the Crown. He makes himself agreeable, smooths down difficulties, softens asperities, and keeps the whole system of which he is the centre in thorough working gear. He does this almost by intuition, but he succeeds also because he gives himself no airs. There is nothing of the great *bahawder* about him, he is easy of access, civil, and obliging to all who approach him. He welcomes his guests at Government House with a genial cordiality which makes them feel at home directly, and in these matters he is ably aided and seconded by Lady Robinson, who is one of the most charming hostesses in the world. It is not easy to find fault with such a man as this; but critics there are who take him to task for his love of the turf. Racing is in its way a passion for him. Nothing gives him more pleasure than to own racers and see horses run. To those, whether friends from whom he might reasonably ask to be saved, or detractors who would read him homilies and treat him to much unkindly criticism, he openly avows his predilections, and declares that he cannot see where is the harm. He trains and runs horses—true; but he never bets, not a sixpence, and he always runs to win. Horse-racing may degenerate in this country into an unsatisfactory substitute for the gaming-table, and by degrees alienate from it the more reputable elements of society, but in the abstract it is essentially British in character, and if properly carried out it tends in a good direction. It is its abuse only that is hurtful; and if all owners and patrons were as 'straight' as Sir Hercules Robinson the turf in England would stand higher than it does now. But his love of sport is catholic in character. Races he perhaps prefers, but he is also a great *Shikarri*, a keen sportsman, who, when at Ceylon, as elsewhere, proved what he could do with a gun. To none of these tastes will his countrymen be disposed to take exception. The official who can on occasion make a telling speech, indite a clear and concise despatch, work for long hours in the disposal of business or the discussion of public affairs, and has many of the leading qualifications of administrative efficiency, will gain rather than lose credit with those who surround him, whether Celt or Saxon, if he knows the good points of a horse, can shoot straight, and ride well to hounds." Sir Hercules has been an indefatigable public servant, and has rendered valuable services to the Crown, but it will readily be perceived that it is not these alone, but his many genial personal traits, combined with his administrative powers, which have gained for him his popularity at home and abroad.

On the preferment of the Marquis of Normanby from the governorship of New Zealand to that of Victoria, in December, 1878, Sir Hercules Robinson was appointed to the former post. The year which witnessed this appointment saw also education make great strides in

New Zealand, six hundred thousand acres being set apart for providing funds for educational establishments. A university is now established, with a royal charter, whose degrees are recognised as equal to those of English universities, the Canterbury College being united with it. Other endowments exist in the colony for technical science, classics, and a normal school for the instruction of teachers.

In the year 1880 Sir Hercules Robinson was appointed Governor of Cape Colony in the room of Sir Bartle Frere, who was recalled by Mr. Gladstone's Government.

Sir Hercules received the honour of knighthood in 1859, and was created a Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1875, in recognition of his services in connection with the cession of the Fiji Islands. He married in 1846 the Honourable Nea Arthur Ada Rose d'Amour Annesley, daughter of the fifth Viscount Valentia. Sir Hercules Robinson is a J.P. for the county Kildare.



THE DUC D'AUMALE

THE DUC D'AUMALE.

THIS distinguished representative of the House of Orleans, Henri-Eugène-Philippe-Louis d'Orleans, was born at Paris on the 16th of January, 1822. He was the fourth son of the late King Louis Philippe and the Queen Marie-Amélie. It is, probably, not too much to say that if his ancestors had been imbued with the same liberal tendencies and the same popular sympathies as the subject of our biography, the Orleans family might still be wielding the destinies of France. The young duke, in common with his brothers, received his public education at the college of Henry IV., and so distinguished himself in his university career as to bear off two prizes for rhetoric. Inheriting a considerable fortune by the death of the last representative of the illustrious House of Condé, he entered the army at seventeen years of age, became an officer in the camp of Fontainebleau, and directed for some time the shooting-school at Vincennes. In the same year, 1839, he was promoted, being appointed captain of the 4th Regiment of the line. In 1840 he accompanied, in the capacity of officer of ordnance, his brother, the Duc d'Orleans, with whom he was united in close and lasting bonds of friendship. In the engagement at Affroun the young soldier won his spurs, and he more than sustained his reputation with the column of Mouzaïa, and in the woods of Oliviers He obtained the same year the grade of chief of battalion and lieutenant-colonel, and subsequently served under the orders of Generals Bugeaud and Baraguay d'Hilliers Attacked by fever, he was recalled in July, 1841, traversed France in the midst of popular ovations, and when he celebrated his triumphal entry into Paris was made the victim of the unsuccessful attack on the 13th of September.

Having completed his military education at Courbevoie, the Duc d'Aumale, who had been created camp-marshal in October, 1842, embarked for Algeria, and commanded there, until the following year, the subdivision of Médéah, signalising himself by his brilliant feats of arms. His most successful achievement was the capture of the camp of the celebrated chief Abd-el-Kader, in the vicinity of Goudjilah, when there fell into his hands a great number of troops, an immense booty, four of the enemy's colours, 3,600 prisoners, and the valuable correspondence and treasure of the Emir himself. For this act of bravery he was awarded the grade of lieutenant-general, and was also appointed to the supreme command of the province of Constantine. He further directed the expedition against Biskara in 1844, and distinguished himself in several campaigns during the same year. On the 25th of November, 1844, he was married to a daughter of Prince Leopold of Salerno, Marie-Caroline-Auguste de Bourbon, who was born only three months later than the Duc himself—viz, in April, 1822. In the year following his marriage the dashing young officer commanded as chief of the camp of the Gironde, and in the year 1846 he assisted in the pacification of the Kabyles of the Ouarensenis The same year he went to Madrid, to take part in the marriage festivities of the Duc de Montpensier.

Appointed in 1847 Governor-General of Algeria, the Duc might be said to enjoy at Algiers, with the sympathies of the whole army, a kind of vice-royalty. He accordingly became a conspicuous object for the attacks of the Opposition in the French House of Assembly, but he was defended from the Tribune by M Guizot. Abd-el-Kader's surrender to the French authorities had hastened the promotion of the Duc d'Aumale When the revolution of 1848 broke out, he prevailed upon the colony to await peaceably the orders of the Central Government, and resigned his charge into the hands of General Cavaignac. Addressing to the army a farewell order full of dignity, the Duc embarked on the 3rd of March, in company with the Prince and Princess de Joinville, on board the *Solon*, which conveyed him to Gibraltar. Thence he went to England One of the first acts of the National Assembly after the revolution was a decree of banishment against the Orleans princes. Against this decree the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville, as representing the whole of the Orleans family, formally protested. On the 30th of May the expatriatory act was completed, and Louis Philippe and his family were condemned by the National Assembly to perpetual banishment from France.

Four years later, still harsher measures were adopted against the Orleans princes. On the 22nd of January, 1852, Louis Napoleon, as Prince President of the French Republic, decreed the confiscation of the property of the Orleans family. The dotation made by Louis Philippe in favour of his children of the reversionary interest of the Orleans estates was also cancelled. When these decrees appeared, a strong feeling of opposition was roused in the minds of all persons in France save the blind adherents of the Prince President, and protests poured in from many influential quarters. The Comte de Montalembert, in consequence of the decrees, resigned his functions as Member of the Consultative Commission. "Though that Commission," said the Count, "has not been consulted on any of the acts of the Executive, there does not the less exist, in the eyes of the public, for those who compose it, a species of *solidarité* with the policy of the Government, which it becomes impossible for me henceforth to accept." M. Dupin, one of the executors of Louis Philippe, and President of the National Assembly at the period of its violent dissolution by the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, also protested with dignity and spirit. In thanking the distinguished men who made these protests, the Duc de Nemours and the Prince de Joinville wrote:—"We will not lower ourselves to point out how particularly odious the calumnies are when brought forward by a man who on two different occasions received proofs of the magnanimity of King Louis Philippe, and whose family never received anything from him but benefit. We leave it to public opinion to do justice to the words as well as to the act which accompanies them; and if we are to believe the testimonies of sympathy which we receive from every side, we are sufficiently avenged." The princes also determined to appeal to the Courts of Law against the threatened confiscation of their property; and when the Orleans estates at Neuilly and Monceaux had been seized by the Administration des Domaines, they applied by counsel to the Court of First Instance for the Department of the Seine for a decree declaring the right and title of their family to the property. The demand was made in the names of the Duc de Nemours, the Prince de Joinville, the Duc d'Aumale, the Duc de Montpensier, the Princess Clementine of Saxe Coburg-Gotha, the Duchess d'Orleans, the Comte de Paris, the Duc de Chartres, the King of the Belgians and his three children, and Duke Frederick William Alexander of Wurtemburg, as guardian of his son by the Princess Marie d'Orleans. The legal proceedings thus instituted were lengthy and complicated, but the actual ruler of France was determined to carry his point, and this was eventually effected, but not without a considerable straining of the unwritten laws of justice.

In 1856 the French legislative body passed a bill granting six hundred thousand francs Rentes to the Orleans princesses. Acting under the advice of members and adherents of the family, however, this grant was declined as a feeble attempt at reparation for an act of spoliation.

A temporary reconciliation of the two branches of the Bourbon family was effected in the year 1853, by an acknowledgment of the superior title of the Duc de Bordeaux From this step the Duchess d'Orleans withheld her sanction, as it gave up the right of her son, the Comte de Paris, who was the direct heir of Louis Philippe. The reconciliation only lasted four years. A letter was written in January, 1857, by the Duc de Nemours, stating that the reconciliation was not to be regarded as an engagement unless the Duc de Bordeaux consented to maintain the tricoloured flag, and to re-establish constitutional government. As the latter maintained the impropriety of regulating such questions before the time of action arrived, the fusion of the two branches was at an end.

On the 15th of May, 1861, the Duc d'Aumale, supported by a distinguished company, presided at the Annual Dinner of the Royal Literary Fund. After some able comments on the literature of the day, His Royal Highness, in proposing the toast of the evening, observed:—"I know well that the object of this institution is not merely English, merely literary, but, above all, cosmopolitan and charitable. It is not by giving prizes to essays, or conferring distinctions, that you encourage the noble literary profession. It is by charity; not a mean, noisy, or humiliating one, but a noble, secret, and well-applied charity. Your unseen hand is always extended to help the young man in his first and unsuccessful trial; the old one, who at the end of his career is betrayed by his strength; the widow and the orphan, who are left destitute by a sudden and unforeseen event. And you do not confine yourselves within the precincts of these islands; you seek everywhere those who have fallen with honour in the great literary contest, whether they are born in the Arctic regions or in the barbarian countries which extend south of the Mediterranean, and when I say so I do not seek a mere effect of words—I speak of acts. It is the greatest privilege of those who are called to preside at these meetings that your records are open to them, and the only drawback of the great satisfaction which results from this inspection is that your chairman is not allowed to disclose what he has seen. But you practise charity in its evangelical way, and your left hand must not know what your right hand has done. There is only one case of timely assistance given by the society to which I may allude, because it has already been brought before the public, and brought by the very man who was interested in it, and this man was Chateaubriand. It is impossible not to feel real emotion in seeing the autograph lines by which this illustrious writer declares that without the help he had received from this institution he would have been unable to finish the work called 'Le Natchez,' the first which created his reputation; so that if this society had not existed the glory of that great name would perhaps have been lost for France and the Belles Lettres. But I suppose that after this example nothing can be added to show what action this institution may have upon literature and the mutual relations of nations; but the very name of your president (Lord Lansdowne) is also a symbol, for it means absence of prejudice, high taste for art and letters, practical liberalism and universal kindness."

During the sittings of the French Senate in 1861, Prince Napoleon severely attacked the Orleans family, whereupon he was answered by the Duc d'Aumale in a pamphlet. This pamphlet, which was addressed to the Emperor of the French, was one of the most remarkable letters ever penned by an exile to the reigning sovereign. "One thing," observed the illustrious writer, "astounds me, and that is, that my grandfather found no favour in

the Committee on Petitions of the Corps Législatif, and on the demand of M. Ollivier, who argued that it ought to have been addressed direct to the Emperor, it was rejected there by eight votes against one. It was recommended, nevertheless, to the Chamber for a full discussion, and this discussion took place on the 2nd of July. In the end the petition was rejected by 174 votes against 31. A short time later an application on the part of the Orleanist princes to be allowed to cross over from England and take part in the defence of their country was refused. This application was renewed in September, when M. Jules Favre replied that their presence might be misinterpreted, and he appealed to their patriotism to depart. There was a strong feeling at this time in some of the northern provinces of France in favour of the Orleanists. On the 27th of September the Duc d'Aumale accepted a request to come forward as a candidate for the Department of La Charente in the ensuing elections for the Constituent Assembly. The Duc expressed his intention to give a present support to the Government which was fighting and negotiating for France, and his future adhesion to the Government freely chosen by the Constituent Assembly.

When the elections to the National Assembly accordingly took place, in February, 1871, amongst the other candidates who appeared before the electors was the Duc d'Aumale. It was a time of great national anxiety, and the leaders of the Republic, desirous of securing the stability of the existing form of government, had issued disqualifying provisions against members of the ex-royal families. Notwithstanding this fact, two princes of the House of Orleans could not check their natural desire to offer their services on behalf of their beloved France. The Duc d'Aumale observed in his address—"When I consider the situation of France, her history, her traditions, and the events of the last year, I am struck with the advantages which a constitutional monarchy presents. I believe it can respond to the legitimate aspirations of a democratic society, and guarantee, with order and security, every kind of progress and of liberty. It is with a mixture of filial pride and of patriotic sorrow that I compare France in her actual state with *what she was under the reign of my father. In my sentiments, in my past, in the traditions* of my family, I find nothing which separates me from the Republic. If it be under this form that France wishes to constitute her Government, I am ready to bow before her sovereignty, and will remain her faithful servant." The Duc and his brother, the Prince de Joinville, were elected Deputies; but having promised M. Thiers that they would not take their seats in the Assembly, in order to avoid embarrassment, they for some time adhered to their resolution. In December, however, they desired to be released from their promise. The grounds advanced on behalf of their plea were, that the engagement they had taken to M. Thiers to save him from embarrassment when acting as Provisional Chief of the Executive, applied to the then political constitution of the Government, but was not binding when the Constitution had undergone a change, and the position of M Thiers was changed with it. The Orleans princes accordingly presented themselves at the house of the President of the Republic on the 5th of December. M. Thiers, notwithstanding, would not say anything definitely in their favour, and after three days he returned an evasive answer to their representations.

Meanwhile, the Orleans princes would not suffer the question to rest. On the 18th of December the *Journal des Débats* published two letters, addressed by the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville to their constituents, pronouncing it as their own opinion that their promise of abstention was no longer binding, and claiming to have the case settled by a higher tribunal. The Duc d'Aumale, in his letter to his constituents, fully explained the reasons which had hitherto prevented him from exercising his rights as a Deputy. He stated that when his

election was submitted to the Assembly several of his colleagues came to ask him not to take his seat, and on those terms M. Thiers withdrew his opposition to the validation of his election, and to the Exile Laws. "I agreed to this," continued the Duc, "since in my eyes it could only be temporary and revocable. If it had been otherwise my resignation would have been demanded, which has not been done. Therefore, I consider the agreement as a simple postponement which, both for your and my sake, I have hastened to terminate. The time seems now to have come. Circumstances to-day have changed. The Government has been consolidated for six months, and the Chief of the Executive Power has become President of the Republic, and he has seen the duration of his power bound up with that of the Assembly. The repeal of the Exile Laws has not justified any of the suspicions of those who forget that I belong to a family whose motto has always been respect for the laws. Nothing can any longer impose upon me any abstention, which applies to no one else, in this difficult period through which the country is now passing. Strong in this conviction, I have believed that I have the right to declare void the engagement which has hitherto kept me out of the Assembly; but the President of the Republic, not having taken the same view as I, I am stopped by the fear of appearing to break my plighted word. I await, therefore, the decision of a superior tribunal, by which new circumstances will trace out for me a new line of conduct; happy if those circumstances permit me to testify to you my gratitude by undertaking the defence of your interests, by joining my efforts to those of my colleagues, for raising again the flag of France, and causing the sovereign right of majorities to be triumphant against every attempt to overthrow it." On the day of their publication, the letters written by the Orleans princes were discussed in the Chamber In answer to M. Brunet, who interpellated the Government on this question, M. Casimir Perier declared that the President had not released the princes from their engagement simply because he considered that engagement as not taken to himself but to the Assembly. This surrender of his position both confused and enraged the Left. M. Pascal Duprat blamed the abrogation of the laws which had permitted the princes to return to France. He maintained that an obligation had been taken by them, and they were now seeking to throw it off. If not taken to M. Thiers, it had been taken to the Committee appointed to ratify their elections. M. Batbie and the Duc de Broglie thereupon denied that any such engagement had been made to the Committee Ultimately, the Chamber, by 616 voices against 2, adopted the following motion:—"The National Assembly, considering that it is not responsible for, and has no advice to give with regard to certain engagements in which it did not participate, passes to the order of the day." The Orleans princes, discovering no answering party to their contract, held themselves fairly released from its consequences, and on the following day took their seats in the National Assembly.

On the death of the distinguished Comte de Montalembert, the French Academy elected the Duc d'Aumale his successor by a unanimous vote, save one. The Duc was received on the 4th of April, 1873, when, according to custom with the Academy, he pronounced the eulogium upon his predecessor Sketching the career of Montalembert, the orator observed that once he had thought of wearing a sword like his ancestors. Moore's poems had fired his soul for the wrongs of green Erin, and he went to Ireland to offer to fight for repeal under Daniel O'Connell's standard, but the Liberator, not wanting foreign assistance, gave him the cold shoulder, and he returned to France and civil life. The Duc thus concluded his eulogy:—"At an epoch of discouragement, in that sad fifteenth century of blood and iron—neither modern times nor those poetic middle ages Montalembert loved—when the Cross disappeared from the

banks of the Bosphorus; when the French king, insane and dethroned, was replaced in Paris by a foreign prince; when war and pestilence devastated our country, an ancestor of mine —a cadet of royal race—gave his companions this rallying cry, 'Hope' Montalembert hoped always. He was spared the knowledge of our poignant grief. His latter days were agitated by fears for the peace of the Church. But his firm faith convinced him that the unity of the Church would endure. He died without knowing that the unity of our country was, alas! to be broken. Had he survived our misfortunes, he would have remembered what Saint Benedict said at Subiaco. I fancy I hear him say:—'Pick up, poor France, the remnant of your broken sword, bind up your wounds, work, and take courage,' and with his powerful voice, which even weakened by suffering would have echoed far wider than mine, he would have repeated that cry of Bourbon on the morrow of Agincourt, that Christian and French cry—'Hope.'" M. Cuvillier Fleury, having been tutor to the royal duke, replied to his address, concluding his speech as follows:—"The souvenir which the Academy will retain of your reception, Monsieur, is the unexpected good fortune that Count Montalembert, that son of Crusaders, should have had for public panegyrist a catholic and liberal prince, the worthy heir of the king who issued the Edict of Nantes, and whose memory lives in the popular mind in spite of everything."

A fusion was effected in August, 1873, between the two branches of the Monarchical party in France. The Orleanists voluntarily made advances towards the Comte de Chambord, and on the 5th of August an interview took place between the Comte and the Comte de Paris, the latter representing the whole of the members of the Orleans family. At this interview the Comte de Paris said:—"I am paying you a visit which it has long been my wish to do. I greet in you, in the name of all the members of my family, and in my own name, not only the head of our House, but also the sole representative of the Monarchical principle in France." The Comte de Chambord returned the visit of the Comte de Paris the same evening, and this second interview was even more cordial than the first. These interviews took place at Vienna, and immediately afterwards the Comte de Chambord accepted the title of King, which was offered to him by a deputation of Legitimists.

It remains to be stated that the Duc d'Aumale was nominated a General of Division on the 10th of March, 1872, and that in this capacity he presided over the Council of War which assembled for the trial of the unfortunate Marshal Bazaine. His Royal Highness has also earned distinction in the world of letters, as M. Cuvillier Fleury reminded the French Academy upon his reception into that illustrious body. He published in 1869 the two volumes of his "Histoire des Princes de la Maison de Condé," which were translated into English He has also been a contributor to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. On the 7th of June, 1876, the mortal remains of the late King Louis Philippe, his Queen Marie-Amélie, the Duchess d'Aumale, the Prince de Condé, and five of the Royal children, were interred in the family burying-place at Dreux, in Normandy. The President of the French Republic had consented to the removal of the remains from their previous place of interment at Weybridge in Surrey.

The Duc d'Aumale, as we have already stated, was married in the year 1844 to Marie-Caroline-Auguste de Bourbon, daughter of Prince Leopold of Salerno The Duchess died at Twickenham, December 6th, 1869. Their Royal Highnesses had two sons. The first, Louis-Philippe-Marie-Leopold d'Orleans, Prince de Condé, was born at Paris on the 15th of November, 1845, and died of typhoid fever at Sydney in September, 1866. Less than three years later the unhappy Duke and Duchess were called upon to lament the death of their



Photographie de M. Charles Jacotin
(Successeur de Mme Bisson, Paris)

EMILIO CASTELAR

EMILIO CASTELAR.

WHETHER justly or not, we never think of connecting Spain with any of those great social and intellectual movements which are supposed to form the distinctive marks of modern progress. Existing forms of Spanish society appear as fantastic and irrational as they did when Cervantes commenced his satire, and, except to those privileged beings with the experience of diplomatists or the omniscience of art critics, no Spanish name in our time suggests a picture, book, bust, or discovery capable of lending the semblance of freshness or originality to the land of Vega, Velasquez, and of the immortal Sancho

It may be that the commercial prosperity of England, the splendid political aberrations of France, the resurrection of Italy, and the massive erudition of the Germans, have all combined to overshadow such attempts as have been made for the amelioration and development of Spain. But whatever the reasons may be, the fact remains that there exists in Europe at the present time a country associated at different epochs with almost universal empire, which, under the double advantage of divine aid as manifested in the Papacy, and human power as exhibited in the civil administration of the Western Empire, has succeeded in attaining to a state of national insignificance quite unequalled in the history of the world. The story of Spanish retrogression, separated from the long list of illustrious obscurities whose names and number form the sole remnants of kingly and imperial power, may be summed up for our present purposes in a few extracts taken from authoritative sources:—

"The National Church of Spain is the Roman Catholic, and the whole population of the kingdom, with the exception of about 60,000 persons, adheres to the same faith According to Article 12 of the Constitution of 1875, a restricted liberty of worship is allowed to Protestants, *but it has to be entirely in private*, all public announcements of the same being strictly forbidden. The Constitution likewise enacts that the nation binds itself to maintain the worship and ministers of the Roman Catholic religion. At the general census taken in 1860, the total population of the Spanish peninsula reached 15,807,753. It was found at that time that about two millions and a half of the men and half a million of the women were able to read and write; that, roughly speaking, about half a million men and half a million women were able to read, but not to write; and that all the rest, upwards of 5,000,000 men and 6,800,000 women, could neither read nor write" To those who are least enamoured of statistics it may be interesting to compare such figures with those of any other European country, of course carefully noting the essential conditions of each State so investigated. According to the financial returns of June 30th, 1878, the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs costs £130,000 per annum, the Ministry of Grace and Justice—whatever this combination may mean—costs £1,729,000, the Ministry of War—in a country whose frontier is never threatened, and whose dependencies are more than self-supporting—costs

£1,831,000; the Navy costs £1,039,000; *but* disbursements for the purpose of enabling children to learn the elementary duties of citizenship through the medium of an intelligent system of education are obviously too paltry to be noticed in a Ministerial budget. It is only after considerable industry we find that the expenditure for public education by the Spanish Government amounted on the average of the last few years to rather less than £250,000.

Thus the interest which Spain takes in teaching her children *how to live* is to be estimated at about the one-twenty-fifth part of the importance which she attaches to their becoming soldiers, or, in other words, of their learning *how to die*. Most wise people have long since concluded that it is a more difficult and a more important matter to know how to live well as reputable citizens than to die well as somewhat disreputable soldiers; but nations do not learn wisdom for some time after individuals have acquired it, and considering that with all her learning and philosophy Germany is at present merely an armed camp, it is hard to expect that Spain should be a model of political wisdom. Therefore her military system exists in all its absurdity, and continuing to trade on the ignorance of the masses and the interest of the patrician class, has no more enlightened *raison d'être* than protracted dynastic animosities and the perpetual recurrence of an internecine war.

It may be added that Spain alone of Western countries still maintains slavery in her colonies, and that in Cuba and Porto Rico, two of the principal dependencies, half the population is in a state of most abject bondage. Under such circumstances, and with such marvellous incapacity for understanding or adopting the measures of ordinary prudence and expediency which contribute to the success of other States, it is not wonderful to find that the national exchequer is usually bankrupt. "The constant and ever-increasing excess of Government expenditure over public revenue created a national debt of very large amount, and in a report of the Government of Alphonzo XII., dated July, 1875, it was stated that not any of the national creditors could hope to be satisfied without having recourse to credit operations at an enormous rate of interest, which in a short time must double the original debt" As an addition to this, resultant from the combined forces of Spanish Monarchical institutions, admirably assisted by priestcraft, which is a leading Monarchical force, and Militarism, which is a *sine qud non*, the Government of Spain at present may be expressed as a quasi-constitutional Monarchy, whose incapacity is tempered by a military despotism; society is governed by the pre-historic delusions of a childish aristocracy; the moral and religious training of the people is practically in the hands of an illiterate and unscrupulous priesthood; and the material prosperity of the country may be estimated from the fact that, according to the latest returns, nearly forty-six per cent. of a soil amongst the most fertile on the surface of the globe is absolutely without cultivation.

The foregoing summary of the position of Spain, however inadequate it may be, has been deemed necessary for the purposes of the present sketch, in order that the reader may grasp even approximately the difficulties which a man, or a number of men, however great or gifted, must contend against when urged by a purer moral instinct to supply some remedy for this national chaos. Under such unpromising conditions as those which have been described, it is a peculiar gratification to be able even for a very short space to concentrate our attention upon the career of one illustrious Spaniard—in truth, a "spirit finely touched"—who, without aristocratic or ecclesiastical influence, merely trusting to that light of nature which had been freely vouchsafed to him, and to a very elevated temperament, has succeeded in attracting peculiar attention to the country whose cause he so ardently espouses Single-handed, he has accomplished the difficult feat of bringing Spain before the notice of Europe under circumstances somewhat more

imposing than those of a huge vineyard, interspersed with arsenals without ammunition, cathedrals without religion, universities without learning, and populous towns without the elements of municipal life.

Emilio Castelar was born in Cadiz upon the 8th of September, 1832. His father, an Exchange broker at Alicante, and afterwards at Cadiz, had spent seven years in the English possessions, chiefly in Gibraltar, to escape from the sentence of death passed on him for his implication in liberal movements. He died at Madrid in 1839, leaving his family almost penniless. His widow and her son, then about seven years of age, transferred their residence from Andalusia to Murcia, and that backward province, rendered so painfully prominent by the disastrous deluge of the autumn of 1879, claims the honour of having educated the most brilliant of living Spaniards. For the principal facts of his life, and for an exhaustive criticism of his books and speeches, we are indebted to Mr. Grant-Duff, who, in two articles reprinted from the *Fortnightly Review*, has contributed another of those masterly and sympathetic studies of distinguished contemporaries which in some degree relieve posterity from the duty of apportioning purely posthumous fame.

From the village of Elda, where he was brought up, young Castelar passed to Alicante, to continue his studies in that provincial capital Here he remained till he was sixteen, leading a studious and retired life, devoting himself somewhat passionately to classical literature, and showing very little inclination for the ordinary amusements of boys. Before his seventeenth year he went to Madrid, where he lived until 1854, attracting great attention by his splendid abilities, and beginning to try his strength in newspapers and reviews

A novel called "Ernesto" is amongst the most successful of those early performances which appeared in the *Eco Universitario*. His first famous speech was made on the 22nd of September, 1854, in the Teatro del Oriente at Madrid. It was during the period of painful suspense when Madrid was being passed from the power of one military ruler to another, and the populace had been infuriated by the shameless corruption of the Court Many orators had addressed the meeting, and when already the audience had become wearied Castelar rose to speak. The people were dispersing, annoyed at being addressed by a new speaker at so late an hour, but after the first few minutes sounds of approval were manifested, then sounds of "Hush! Hush!" were heard through the room, and, as described by an eye-witness, "the speech, carried on for more than an hour amidst rapt attention, ended in a perfect phrensy of applause." The unknown young democrat had become a celebrity. Shortly after, he added considerably to his reputation by defending certain newspapers prosecuted for political articles In one of those defences he anticipated with marvellous eloquence and rare foresight the idea—then a novel one—of an independent and united Italy; and in after years, when entertained at Rome by the most distinguished of living Italians, he referred with just pride to the gratifying consummation of his early hopes. About this time he read the discourse for his doctor's degree upon Lucan, who—himself an Andalusian, and of a genius very similar to that of his panegyrist—did not suffer by the academic exposition. As Castelar's life is to be known rather from his books and his speeches than from any chronological arrangement of dates and incidents, it is proposed to summarise the leading events of his career, and then to adopt the more profitable method of examining some products of his vigorous and beautiful intellect. For a time he was Professor of History and Philosophy in the University of Madrid, and in 1866 he took a leading part in the revolutionary movement that was put down by Serrano. On this occasion he was condemned to death, but he escaped, with the assistance of friends who were politically his opponents, and found refuge first at Geneva, and afterwards in France. When the revolution broke out in September, 1868, he returned to his native country, and was one of the most energetic

leaders of the Republican movement. He exerted himself to the utmost to bring about a Republican form of Government, but at the general election for the constituent Cortes, in February, 1869, the Republicans succeeded in returning only a small proportion of their candidates, among whom, however, was Señor Castelar. In all discussions respecting the new Constitution of Spain, Castelar advocated, but unsuccessfully, the principle of Republican institutions. In June, 1869, he vigorously opposed the project of a Regency, and he was also concerned in the Republican insurrection which occurred in October of that year In the Government chosen by the Cortes *after* the abdication of King Amadeo, Castelar was Minister of Foreign Affairs. On August 21th, 1873, he was elected President of the Cortes by 135 votes against 73, but he vacated that post on September 6th, when he was nominated President of the Executive power. His first measure was the prorogation of the Cortes and the assumption of dictatorial power. He next took energetic but ineffectual measures to suppress the Carlist insurrection, and despatched the Minister of War in person to Cuba to protect Spanish interests in that island When, however, the Cortes reassembled in January, 1874, it refused, by 120 votes against 100, to pass a vote of confidence in President Castelar, who resigned. Thereupon General Pavia, as Captain-General of Madrid, forcibly dissolved the Cortes, and appointed a Provisional Government, with Marshal Serrano at its head. Soon after the *pronunciamento* in favour of Alphonzo XII, Castelar quitted Madrid, and proceeded to Geneva, in January, 1875. While resident in that city, being disgusted with the educational decree promulgated by the Spanish Government, he resigned the Chair of History in the University of Madrid, on the 6th of March, 1875. Subsequently he returned to Spain, and succeeded, though not without considerable difficulty, in obtaining a seat in the Cortes as Deputy for Madrid at the election of January, 1876.

Señor Castelar has written, besides "Ernesto," "Lucano, su Vida, su Genio, su Poema," 1857; "Legendas Populares," 1857, "Ideas Democraticas," 1858, "La Civilizacion en los Cinco Primeras Siglos del Christianismo," "Lecciones Pronunciados el en Ateneo de Madrid," two volumes, 1858-59; "Cronica de la Guerra de Africa," 1859, "La Redencion del Esclavo," 1859; "Coleccion de los Principales Articulos Politicos y Literarios," 1859; "Cartas a un Obispo Sobre la Libertad de la Iglesia" (printed in "Biblioteca de la Democracia"), 1864; "Discurso Pronunciado en la Noche del 13 de Novembre, de 1868, con Motivo de Instalarse el Comté Republicano de Madrid," 1868; "Discursos Parlamentarios, en la Assemblea Constituente," 1871; "Roma vrega y nueva Italia" (admirably translated by Mrs Arnold), 1873; "Semblanzas Contemporaneans de los Personages mas Celebres del Mundo en las Letras, las Ciencias y les Artes;" "Vida de Lord Byron;" and "Historia de un Corazon," a romance.

there can only be fanatics and hypocrites; without the liberty of teaching there can only be obscure oracles or innumerable sophists; without political liberty there can only be tyrants and slaves, without economical liberty there can only be those who use others for their own purposes, and those who are so used."

This seems a remarkable key-note to have been struck in the land of Hidalgos and Guitars.

Castelar's first well-known political work is the "Formula del Progresso." It is a manual of democratic principles, divided into twenty chapters, and summed up in the following table —

1. Right is the basis of the sovereignty of the people. 2. Equality of political rights for all citizens. 3. Liberty of the press. 4. Liberty of association for all the ends of human activity. 5. Universal suffrage. 6. The jury. 7. Inviolability of the domestic hearth and of the person. 8. Administrative decentralisation. 9. Independence, within their defined spheres, of the Municipality and the Province. 10. Irremovability of public officers. 11. The impôt unique. 12. Abolition of monopolies and all indirect taxes. 13. Liberty of commerce. 14. Liberty of credit. 15. Equal consideration and respect for all manifestations of the human spirit. 16. Elevation of all classes and of all citizens to public life. 17. Abolition of the punishment of death. 18. Abolition of the conscription, making the service of arms a true profession for the soldier as for the officer. 19. Abolition of exceptional privileges and jurisdictions. 20. The consecration, in a word, of human responsibility, with all its rights and all its faculties.

Commenting upon this table, the reviewer, himself an English Liberal of no mean order, remarks:—"Against the great majority of these principles, as explained by Señor Castelar, few sincere and strong Liberals in this country would have much to advance: no tendency to Communism, no vestige of hostility to property, no tendency to the pernicious heresy of a desire to exalt the State at the expense of the just rights of the individual. On the whole, we think that every fair-minded Liberal will admit the 'Formula del Progresso' to be the work of an able and virtuous, if somewhat enthusiastic, mind. The faults are those of five-and-twenty."

In the "Old Rome and New Italy" opinions are expressed upon the land question which may not be without interest to others than Spaniards. When travelling for the first time between Civita Vecchia and Rome, Castelar noticed the wild waste of the Pontifical territory, and thus expressed himself upon the general desolation —

"I have often heard of the dreariness of the Roman Campagna, but I had not imagined its reality. . . . When Cincinnatus cultivated the Roman plains in the early days of the Republic they might have been called the earthly Elysian fields, a plantation of riches, an abode of happiness and abundance. Wine, corn, oil, milk, and honey were produced in such quantities by agricultural labour that Rome was sufficient for herself. But by degrees the great families took possession of the ground once owned *and tilled by the many*. *In order to avoid daily* labour, they converted agricultural land into pasturage. One slave was enough to guard the flock. Irrigation was suspended, the canals dried up, drainage was stopped. Water became stagnant in bad places; those streams which had brought life in their flow scattered death by their putrid emanations. Having conquered the known world, the Roman people were no longer employed with war, and had forgotten the occupations of peace. The want of food and pleasure opened the way for despotism. From despotism came the moral death which is in tyranny, as material death is in the Pontine marshes. Well did Pliny say, '*Latifundia Italiam perdidere*'"

Further on, in the chapter on the Ghetto, he deals with the subject of persecuted opinions. "It is time for all persecutions against opinion to be abolished. I condemn the Roman Govern-

ment when it oppresses the Jews, and the Government of Prussia when it proscribes the Jesuits. I assert that to persecute doctrines is like the persecution of light, air, electricity, magnetic fluids, because these escape all persecution and are placed above all power. . . . I know all the defects of the Jewish people; I know all their unrestrained love of money and all their egotism. But their misfortunes more than overbalance their errors; and, above all, they do not deserve the oppression which has weighed upon their lives and consciences so many ages for having put to death a religious reformer. For them the Redeemer was not one alone. In the history of humanity there have been many friends and helpers. This one has enlivened the conscience, that has instructed the reason, the other has saved from labour; and almost all those liberators have died before their work, immolated, legally or illegally, by tyrannical sects, by intolerant churches, by barbarous institutions, against which the protests and doctrines of innovators have arisen. What people has not brought upon itself some crime similar to that of the Jews in its own eyes? What great man has not been the victim of laws or the object of human ingratitude? The Greeks sacrificed the revealer of the human conscience, the Romans the tribune of social reform, the Florentines the precursors of modern revolutions, the Britons the prophet of religious tolerance, the French the Titan of democratic principles, the Spaniards the discoverer, almost the creator, of a new world in the immensity of the ocean. The Jews sacrificed the Christ."

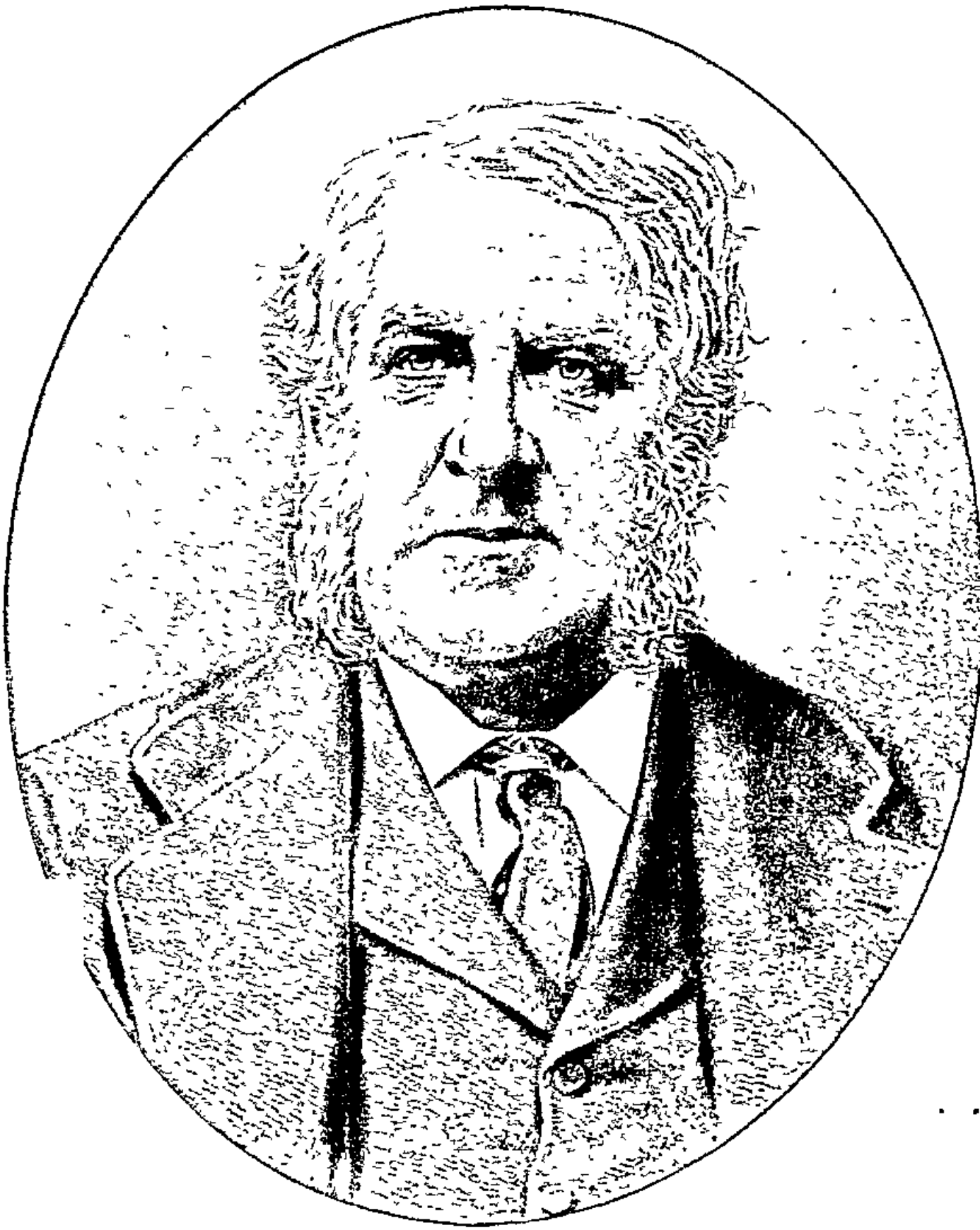
Next we come to a speech delivered by Castelar at a banquet given in his honour at Rome, under the management of Depretis, Crispi, and Mancini. Mr. Grant-Duff selects the following passage as deserving of the greatest consideration on the part of those who, admitting Señor Castelar's greatness as an orator, fail to do him justice as a statesman:—"The dream of five centuries is realised; you have done what the ancient Cæsars could not do, nor the Ostrogothic and Lombard kings. What Frederick of Suabia and his illustrious descendants could not effect by their death-struggle with the Guelphs and the Angevins; that which neither Dante nor Petrarch saw, in spite of their wishing the Emperor of Germany to make the sword of the Holy Empire the axis round which Italy revolved; that which Julius II. could not effect with his cannon, nor Leo X. with his arts; that which Savonarola could not make a reality by giving himself to God, nor Machiavelli by giving himself to the devil, has been done by you You have made Italy one; you have made Italy free; you have made Italy independent All this you, who are without doubt the most favoured of the generations, have attained, by having reunited to the efforts of previous generations and to their martyrdoms the vital idea *par excellence*—the idea of liberty. But it is not enough to have succeeded. It is necessary at all costs to keep what you have got A large experience teaches us how much easier it is to forward than to consolidate public liberty. For the first, one great but common rudimentary virtue is sufficient—the virtue of courage; for the second are required courage and prudence Everything may be left in part to the hazard of the unforeseen, except the fate of nations. Adventures in the case of peoples end almost always as the adventures do in the immortal work of our Cervantes—by great catastrophes. That only should be torn up by the roots which cannot be reformed; and before you ask a reform through the laws, it is necessary to formulate it with clearness, to diffuse it with perseverance, to propagate it by electoral meetings, to take care that from these electoral meetings it shall come up as a mysterious sap into Parliaments, and from Parliaments into Governments If a principle, however progressive it may appear, can compromise all that you have acquired, do not propose it, and do not set it forth Content yourselves with preparing it for the future. You who are by nature inclined to synthesis, do not fall into the error of errors—the error of looking only to liberty, and caring nothing for authority, the error of looking only for progress, and caring nothing for stability; the error of looking only to the right of the individual, and having no care for the force of the

community; the error of looking only at the future, when every moment has in it the past, the present, and the future. . . Do not satisfy yourselves with having founded Italy Preserve her; and let it never be said that to correct a defect in your statue, perhaps a necessary one, you have dashed it into a thousand pieces. I shall never be weary of treating of this subject, for I believe that the greatest evil of modern democracies is impatience, and the one rock on which they may run is the work of the demagogue Revolutionary periods, the periods of violence, are closing all over Europe."

Comment upon this speech is superfluous, and we pass on to Castelar's remarks upon the murder of Prim.

"That which I most condemn in this deed is that which extenuates its guilt in many confused consciences—the fact that it had a political character I think that such political crimes are to be reprobated: first, because my conscience reprobates them, next, because they violate the laws of morality and justice; but still more, because while their perpetrators imagine that they are destroying an idea by destroying the person who represents it, they give life to that idea—as did that eternal model of all political criminals, as did Brutus when he slew Cæsar and rooted Cæsarism. For Cæsarism was saved by horror at that crime—saved to ruin Rome, and leave in the veins of our race a spirit of idolatry for the dictatorship of genius ennobled by martyrdom, which we are still paying for by sad moral weakness, by great and recent calamities" Señor Castelar, although strongly opposed to the "International Society," defends its right to bring forward its views and discuss them peaceably. In August, 1871, he expressed himself as follows upon the repressive measures adopted by the Government:—"After all, your efforts, gentlemen, will be of no avail. You are attacking something that cannot die, something which exists in all times and is reproduced in all societies. Utopia is a phantom which may deceive, but is eternal. The world is agreed that art is a falsehood, that the stage is a fiction, that figures on a picture are lines and colours, yet, assuredly, the world will never abandon art Utopia, like hope, is eternal, inextinguishable, ever greater with the greatness of misfortune As the terrestrial sphere turns between its two poles, so do the social spheres turn between two Utopias—between the Utopia of the past and the Utopia of the future Direct your eye to all times, pass it over all peoples, and tell me when there does not spring up some Utopia, where there is not some heavenly vision of an extraordinary and almost divine felicity. The Messianic idea is the eternal product of captivity."

Sydney Smith, referring to the state of Ireland upon a memorable occasion, called attention to the career and influence of Henry Grattan. Smith was not much addicted—in his capacity of Edinburgh Reviewer—to flatter anybody, much less to flatter opponents of the existing constitution, but one expression which he used has become a household word—"Great men hallow a whole nation and lift up all who live in their time." If this statement were directly applicable to Grattan at a former time, it seems now distinctly applicable in Spain to the person of Emilio Castelar. In conclusion, and regretting the narrow space at our disposal, we transcribe from the great speech—afterwards dedicated to Mr Gladstone—on the subject of Religious Liberty, delivered in 1867 in the Spanish Cortes by Señor Castelar In reply to the deputies who maintained that the State should force in some way on the conscience certain dogmas and certain rites, Castelar answered—"If the State has a right to maintain a religion, it has a right also to enforce it by forcible measures. The Pharaohs, who were the State, had a right to force upon Moses, who was the conscience, the idolatrous worship of the Egyptian divinities: Nebuchadnezzar, who was the State, had a right to persecute the



SIR GEORGE FERGUSON BOWEN

Hebrew children, and to torture them in the furnace, because they would not bow before the altar in the plain of Dura, Tiberius, who was the State, represented by Pilate, had the right to nail to the ignominious cross of the slave the immaculate body of Jesus Christ; Nero and Diocletian, who were the State, had the right to entomb the first Christians in the Catacombs, and to throw them to the fangs of the wild beasts; Charles IX., who was the State, had the right at the peal of the bell which had chimed at his birth—and was soon to toll at his death—to shoot and behead those who rebelled against the State Church; Henry VIII. had the right, aided by his subservient Parliament, to convert the isle of saints into the isle of heretics; the Cossack of the Don, represented by the Czar Nicholas, who created himself pontiff and monarch, had the right to enter the churches of Poland to overthrow the priest, who, Host in hand, directed to heaven hope in the resurrection of his dismembered country; and all tyrants have the right to be anointed with the mystic oil of your ideas as fulfillers of God's justice upon earth, oppressed by their despotism and stained by their crimes I wish to bring forward two examples of the complete impotence of the political principle to destroy the religions It was during the fourth century of our era that the death of our Saviour, the efficacy of His example, the apostolate of His disciples, the faith of the martyrs, the development of human thought, in theological Jerusalem, in philosophical Athens, in scientific Alexandria, produced a change and movement in a general direction from paganism towards Christianity—a change necessary, logical, dialectical, and, above all, divine—a change to which was opposed a Cæsar, an orator full of genius—the immortal Julian; but his opposition was completely fruitless. The sceptre has not yet been forged which shall govern human reason; and just as no one has yet been able to root out a world or a sun from space, so no one has been able to root out an idea from the mind when once it is born and takes root within the human soul; so it is that I know of no more clear demonstration of the impotence of political power in religious questions than that last journey of Julian to the foot of Parnassus, when he entered amidst the aisles of the temple at Delphi and found altars without victims, worship without offerings, priests without congregations, though paganism had upheld the schools in the State and in the Empire. Useless restoration! of no avail that the law of the State should be opened to a creed when the immortal bosom of conscience was closed to it. . . Gentlemen, it is our duty to conciliate, not to persecute, to break chains, and not to forge them; so shall we aid in making this earth an epitome of the universe, and man's soul a reflection of his Creator's."

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Monsieur C Jacotin, 37, Boulevard de Strasbourg, Paris.]

experiment of self-government. By a secret article in the Treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, they were given to the French, but being occupied by the British during the wars from 1809 to 1814, they were secured to England by the Treaty of Paris in November, 1815. From 1814 to 1863 the islands were a Republican Confederation, under the protectorate of Great Britain, and were called the United States of the Ionian Islands. The government was vested in a Lord High Commissioner, appointed by the British Crown, and a Parliament, consisting of a Senate and Legislative Assembly. The Earl of Guildford, first President of the new States, succeeded in establishing a University at Corfu in 1823, which was presided over by Mr. Bowen from 1847 to 1851, and which was finally disestablished upon the cessation of the English Protectorate in 1864. In this year the Ionian Islands were incorporated with the Kingdom of Greece, when Cerigo was united as an eparchy with the nomarchy of Argolis and Corinth, and the remaining islands were formed into three nomarchies, Corfu, Cephalonia, and Zacynthus. Eparchia is the Greek word for province, and eparchy signifies a territory somewhat corresponding with the French Prefecture. While officially resident at Corfu in 1850, Mr. Bowen was requested by several friends to put together some notices of the Homeric topography and the existing state of Ithaca. This very interesting and scholarlike work was published in 1851, and dedicated to Mr. Gladstone; the results of its sale were devoted to a charitable institution in the Ionian Islands. It is not a little interesting to compare this account of the habits, institutions, and physical characteristics of Ithaca in the nineteenth century with the island which Ulysses loved so well that he frequently composed poetry in its honour, but which he seldom personally visited. It is also interesting to many of us who have been accustomed to think of Ithaca as the family residence only of Ulysses, Penelope, and Telemachus, the persistent and ungentlemanlike suitors, and the amiable domestic Eumæus who guarded the flocks and herds of his erratic master, to find that along with a good grammar-school, supported by Government, there is now a population of about 10,000. In most points our author considers that Homer's descriptions are still as accurate in Ithaca as they are elsewhere—"proving him to be the great father of history and topography as well as of poetry." His verses present a perfect picture of the island as it appeared to Mr. Bowen's own eyes, and have been well rendered in the translation of Pope:—

> "Horrid with cliffs, our meagre land allows
> Thin herbage for the mountain goat to browse;
> But neither mead nor plain supplies to feed
> The sprightly courser or indulge his speed.
> To sea surrounded realms the gods assign
> Small tract of fertile lawn, the least to mine."

The general aspect is described as one of ruggedness and sterility; it can hardly be said that there are a hundred yards of continuous level ground in the whole island, which warrants the expression of Cicero that "Ulysses loved his country not because it was broad, but because it was his own" Perhaps the universal interest that attached to this island in antiquity, and which has continued to invest the lives of its renowned chieftain and his famous friends, along with their actions and their eloquence at the siege of Troy, may afford an excuse for this digression into ancient history

In 1852 Mr Bowen had republished from the *Colonial Church Chronicle* his "Diary of a Journey from Constantinople to Corfu," in its republished form he called it "Mount Athos, Thessaly, and Epirus." This little book, admirably written, is full of interest to the many

England. The Governor, therefore, does exercise a temporary veto not unfrequently, especially in those instances in which it becomes his duty to submit the disputed matter home for decision. A distinguished writer, who visited the colonies of Australia in a semi-official capacity during 1871 and 1872, has informed us that in Queensland, not long since, the Ministers of the day proposed a law by which paper money would have been substituted for gold as the legal tender of the country. The Governor refused to give his assent to such a law, and was supported by the Colonial Office at home. And it is only by such means, however disagreeable to the keen susceptibilities of a young and prosperous people, that the colonies, at least in the earlier stages of development, can be guarded against the results of that crude legislation which would be the certain and natural result of inexperience in statecraft.

The Governor, then, with the reservation in his power of having to wait occasionally for instructions from home, enacts the part of King. He is assisted by an Executive Council, of which he is the President, and which consists of his Ministers. The Queensland Prime Minister is Vice-President of this Council, and officially discharges the duties of Colonial Secretary. This Council is a legitimate reproduction of our Cabinet, from which it differs simply in this, that the Governor takes a part in its deliberations. There seems to be no legal reason why the Sovereign should not do so at home, but the unwritten rules of our Constitution, to which statesmen so constantly advert, have declared that practically the reigning Sovereign shall not attend the deliberations in Council. Severe criticisms were made at one time upon the Prince Consort's attendance at Cabinet Councils on behalf of Her Majesty. But it is generally supposed, and with considerable wisdom, that no such *duty* is attached to the Crown, and many people think that this attendance of the Prince was an innovation, and dangerous. In the colonies it is part of the specific duty of the Governor that he should attend the deliberations of his Cabinet, and his attendance would be of very little importance if it were not in his power to express his opinion as to what should be done and what should not be done. It is presumed also that his opinion has less weight than that of any other member of the Council.

In Queensland there are, as a rule, six Executive Ministers. Of these six the Constitution requires that only one shall be in the Upper Chamber, or Legislative Council. The other five are supposed to discover seats for themselves in the Lower House, or Legislative Assembly, though there is nothing in the Constitution to make this imperative. There is a Colonial Secretary, who seems to combine and discharge all the duties which do not naturally fall to his colleagues, a Colonial Treasurer, a Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Minister for Works and Gold Fields, a Minister for Lands, a Postmaster-General, and an Attorney-General.

Our House of Lords is represented in the colonies by the Legislative Council, which consists of twenty-one members. These are nominated by the Governor for life, the Governor being, of course, subject in this matter to the advice of his Ministers. The nomination therefore practically rests with the Prime Minister. We can easily discover in the Colonial Upper House the general characteristics of our own House of Lords. The latter institution is by some said to be on the decline, but, however distinctly marked may be the symptoms of a democratic movement throughout the country, the stamina, energy, political knowledge, and practical business capacity of our hereditary legislators seem likely for a long time to be capable of obviating the total collapse of political privileges amongst the proudest nobility in Europe. The Legislative Assembly of the colonies somewhat resembles, as we have said, our House of Lords. Its meetings are short, respectable, and in general not particularly animated. The political life of a colony may be seen, if not under a more imposing aspect, certainly under a more vital



M. DE LESSEPS

M. DE LESSEPS.

THE Vicomte Ferdinand de Lesseps, whose name will be for ever associated with one of the greatest engineering enterprises of modern times, was born at Versailles, on the 19th of November, 1805. Destined for the diplomatic service, at the age of twenty he was appointed Attaché to the French Consulate at Lisbon In 1827 he was employed, under the Comte de la Ferronays, in the Commercial Section of the Department of the Minister for Foreign Affairs After being attached to the Consulate of Tunis, he was charged—several months subsequently to the conquest of Algiers—with a mission relative to the submission of the province of Constantine. In 1831 he went to Egypt, where for two years he exercised consular functions On the 12th of November, 1833, he was promoted to the grade of Consul of the Second Class at Cairo On two occasions he was charged with the functions of the General Consulate at Alexandria, and notably during the great famine of 1834–35. For his services on this occasion he was rewarded with the Cross of the Legion of Honour, bestowed upon him in 1836. Called on the 1st of May of the same year once more to fulfil consular and diplomatic duties in Egypt, he rendered special services under circumstances of considerable political importance. Profiting by the occupation of Syria by Ibrahim Pacha, he seized the opportunity of procuring an efficacious protection for his co-religionists. He also contributed materially to the re-establishment of good relations between the Viceroy of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, and the Sultan. Returning to Paris on leave, he was appointed on the 17th of July, 1838, to conduct the affairs of the French Consulate at Rotterdam. The following year he was transferred to the Consulate of Malaga, and finally, on the 24th of May, 1842, to that of Barcelona.

We learn from a French account of the life of M de Lesseps, that during the bombardment of Barcelona, November, 1842, and the events which immediately followed, the French Consul, though placed in a very delicate situation, took such steps for protecting the interests of his own countrymen, as well as furnishing an impartial asylum for the Spaniards, and so endeavoured to alleviate the miseries of the population generally, that the Governments and peoples of France and Spain poured honours upon him with a lavish and liberal hand. On the 20th of December he was promoted to the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honour, the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce sent him a most flattering address, the French residents at Barcelona struck a medal in his honour, the Chamber of Commerce of Barcelona publicly presented its thanks to him, and commissioned a marble bust of him to be executed The Bishop associated himself warmly In these public tributes. The Kings of Sardinia, Sicily, and Sweden sent him the insignia of their respective orders Other Governments also thanked him through their diplomatic representatives, and one of the first acts of Queen Isabella, after the declaration of her majority, was to nominate him Commander of the First Class of the Order of Charles III. of Spain M. de

Lesseps was promoted to the grade of Consul-General, and was maintained at his post in Barcelona by a decree dated January 26th, 1847.

On the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848, M. de Lesseps was recalled to Paris by telegraph; but in a few days he again left the capital for Madrid, in the capacity of Minister of France. He successfully negotiated a postal treaty, which secured a considerable reduction of taxes. Replaced by Napoleon Joseph Bonaparte on the 10th of February, 1849, he received, on the 2nd of May following, the title and insignia of Chevalier Grand Cross of Isabella the Catholic. He was named for the French Legation at Berne, when the news of the attack upon Rome by the French troops reached Paris. He was sent to Rome with the object of conciliatory intervention. His course at this crisis was much canvassed, and M. de Lesseps published a document in his defence which throws much light upon the events of the time.

In October, 1854, M. de Lesseps went to Egypt, the newly-appointed Viceroy, Mehemet Said, having invited him thither on a visit. It was during this visit that he fully conceived, and for the first time unfolded, his great scheme for cutting through the Isthmus of Suez. During a journey from Alexandria to Cairo, made in company with Said Pacha, he confided his plan to the Viceroy, who immediately saw the grand results which must follow from its successful completion, and asked for a full and an immediate exposition of the project. M. de Lesseps accordingly prepared for publication a work, entitled *Percement de l'Isthme de Suez, Exposé et Documents officiels*. This work contained full details of the proposed enterprise, to the carrying out of which M de Lesseps bent all his energies. He received a firman sanctioning the enterprise in 1854, and a letter of concession was granted by the Viceroy of Egypt in 1856. But the difficulties in the way of the enterprise were now to begin; English engineers of the highest eminence doubted the practicability of the scheme, and numberless other obstacles were thrown in the way of its execution. No encouragement was received from the Porte or from Great Britain. In June, 1857, a meeting was held in the Mansion House to hear explanations from M. de Lesseps regarding his project, but it was unfavourably received by politicians, as well as by capitalists and engineers. On the 7th of July the matter was brought before the attention of the English Parliament, when Mr. H Berkeley asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government would use its influence with His Highness the Sultan in support of an application which had been made by the Viceroy of Egypt for the sanction of the Sublime Porte to the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez, for which a concession had been granted by the Viceroy of Egypt to M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, which had received the approbation of the principal cities, ports, and commercial towns of the United Kingdom. If any objections were entertained by Her Majesty's Government to the undertaking, Mr Berkeley further desired to know the nature of such objections. Lord Palmerston replied that the Government certainly could not undertake to use their influence with the Sultan to give the required permission, inasmuch as for the past fifteen years they had used all the influence they possessed at Constantinople and in Egypt to prevent the scheme from being carried into execution. The language which the Prime Minister further used reads very strangely now after the lapse of events. The Suez Canal undertaking, in point of commercial character, he said he believed might rank among the many bubble schemes that from time to time had been palmed upon gullible capitalists. He had been informed, on what he believed to be reliable authority, that it was physically impracticable, except at an expense which would be far too great to warrant an expectation of any returns. He believed, therefore, that those who embarked their money in any such undertaking would find themselves very grievously deceived by the result. However, that was not the ground upon which the

Government had opposed the scheme. Private individuals were left to take care of their own interests, and if they embarked in impracticable undertakings they must pay the penalty of so doing. But the scheme was founded in hostility to the interests of this country, and was opposed to the standing policy of England in regard to the connection of Egypt with Turkey—a policy which had been consecrated by the late war, and the issue of that war, the Treaty of Paris The obvious political undertaking was to render more easy the separation of Egypt from Turkey. It was founded, also, on remote speculations with regard to easier access to our Indian possessions, which he need not more distinctly shadow forth, because they would be obvious to anybody who paid any attention to the subject. He could only express his surprise that M Ferdinand de Lesseps should have reckoned so much on the credulity of English capitalists, as to think that by his progress through the different commercial towns in this country he should succeed in obtaining English money for the promotion of a scheme which was in every way so adverse and hostile to British interests. That scheme was launched, he believed, about fifteen years before, as a rival to the railway from Alexandria by Cairo to Suez, which, being infinitely more practicable and likely to be more useful, obtained the pre-eminence. M. de Lesseps was a very persevering gentleman, and might have great engineering skill at his command. At all events, he pursued his scheme very steadily, though he (Lord Palmerston) was disposed to think that probably the objects which he and some others of the promoters had in view would be accomplished, even if the whole of the undertaking should not be carried into execution. If his hon. friend the member for Bristol and his friends would take his advice, they would have nothing to do with the scheme in question.

We have given Lord Palmerston's objections to this magnificent project for two reasons: first, because they represent, in a large measure, the views held at the time by many influential persons in this country; secondly, because they furnish another unfortunate example of the somewhat flippant and unjust manner in which great scientific schemes are frequently discounted and declared to be impossible, and which have, nevertheless, been both shown to be feasible, and have been carried into execution in the course of a few years. These objections also suffice to show the grave nature of the obstacles with which M de Lesseps had to contend. To all attempts to depreciate his scheme, and to the frequently violent attacks of his adversaries, M. de Lesseps replied by facts, and by dint of almost unparalleled perseverance he succeeded in exciting, in almost every country, a feeling in favour of his enterprise, before which all resistance was compelled to give way. In 1859, after having reconciled the great capitalists with the popular nature of his grand idea, and having obtained subscriptions amounting to upwards of two hundred millions of francs, M de Lesseps began to translate into actual fact the idea which had met with so much opposition, chiefly of a political nature He undertook to cut a canal through ninety miles of sand, to run out moles into the Mediterranean, to deepen the shallow waters, to create ports to receive the ships from India and Australia, and to adapt the canal to irrigation. The consent of the Egyptian, Turkish, Russian, French, and Austrian Governments had at length been obtained to the project. The work, which had finally been decided upon in 1858, was commenced by Mr (afterwards Sir) Daniel Lange The cost was estimated at £8,000,000, and the engineer was M. L. Montcit. In November, 1862, M. Belacour, a French engineer, after viewing the works which were "employing 25,000 men in the desert," expressed his conviction that they would be completed in four or five years. A year later the waters of the Mediterranean were admitted into a narrow channel communicating with Lake Timsah, and in March, 1863, the new town Timsah was named Ismailia. The

Sultan shortly afterwards visited the works, accompanied by Mr. Hawkshaw, with a view of inspecting their progress. In the following August the Suez Canal Company was beset by another difficulty. Having been compelled by the Egyptian Government to give up the employment of compulsory labour, litigation ensued, which for some time interfered with the progress of the operations. In February, 1865, however, M. de Lesseps reported that a vessel containing thirty persons had been tugged along the canal the whole distance between the two seas. In April of the same year delegates from the British Chambers of Commerce visited the works, and reported that the success of the scheme was only an affair of time and money. On the 15th of August, 1865, the flood-gates of the smaller Suez Canal were opened, and the fresh water of the Nile admitted. A coal vessel also passed from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. On the 17th of February, 1867, the *Prima*, eighty tons burden, passed through the canal from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea. It now became obvious that M. de Lesseps' idea had been practically accomplished, and a loan was quickly raised in France to enable him to perfect his scheme. In November, 1868, French and English vessels entered the canal; and three months later Mr. John Fowler, the engineer, reported the canal as suitable for steamers and mail traffic, but not for vessels requiring tugs. Water of the Mediterranean was admitted to the salt lakes on the 18th of March, and on the 23rd the works were visited by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

It was not until the 17th of November, however, that the canal was formally and successfully opened. This ceremony, so triumphant a one for M. de Lesseps, and one upon which it is not too much to say the eyes of the whole civilised world were fixed, was witnessed by the Emperor of Austria, the Empress of the French, the Viceroy of Egypt, and other distinguished personages. The entry of the flotilla of vessels into the Lake of Ismailia was achieved most successfully, there being everywhere a good depth of water From thirty to forty ships were actually moored in the lake. On the following morning the flotilla proceeded to Suez. A banquet was given at Ismailia by M. de Lesseps to the Chambers of the Commercial Congress, the Chambers of Commerce, and the Directors of the Suez Canal Company. M. de Lesseps delivered a speech, in which he said:—"The work of the canal is completed, but it is now necessary that the present administration of justice in Egypt, which paralyses the resources of the company and obstructs commerce, should be reformed. The Egyptian Government is willing to effect the necessary reforms in unison with the Great Powers, but I regret to state that the French Government is the one which opposes the greatest resistance to the projects put forward for that purpose, and which are so indispensable to the company, to the foreign residents, and to the natives." M. de Lesseps concluded by stating that the Board of Directors of the Suez Canal Company had drawn up a petition to the French Government, demanding the reforms referred to, and he expressed hopes that all interested would give their support to the petition. The *Times* wrote in reference to the completion of this great work:—"M. de Lesseps is a man of genius. In pursuit of his great idea he has shown an indomitable spirit of pertinacity. He has never felt discouragement. He has not known lassitude. He has never paused in his progress And as he has been hitherto, so it would seem he is now, when his work is in all essential respects completed and invites repose. On Wednesday night there was high pomp and festival at Ismailia. The dream of years had come true. The ships of two oceans met at the lake harbour, in the midst of the desert, having traversed in their double journey the isthmus from end to end. A numerous fleet, bearing imperial, royal, and illustrious voyagers, had come from the Mediterranean to this half-way resting-place between

the two seas, and simultaneously with these there arrived from the Gulf of Suez a convoy of ocean-going steamers. The passage of the canal was thus accomplished The assertions, so confidently repeated up to the very eve of Wednesday, that many months must yet pass, and vast sums be still spent, before the passage could be made, turned to the discredit of their authors as the advanced guard of each flotilla saluted one another on Lake Timsah. The triumph of M. de Lesseps was thus complete" Touching upon the attacks made by M. de Lesseps on the consular jurisdictions in Egypt as impeding the development of his company, the *Times* added:—"M. de Lesseps may, consistently with himself, seize upon the very moment of completing his great conception to denounce a system which hampers the commercial development of his undertaking. We are content to rejoice simply that the undertaking has been so far completed, and to join in doing honour to the man who, under obstacles and difficulties apparently insurmountable, pursued his grand design with unwavering faith to the end." The whole of the English and the Continental press endorsed these sentiments, and rejoiced in the success of a man who had seen himself pitted against the world It was remarked that even staid Manchester men, despite the cautions of their engineering friends, were disposed to think that the canal would revolutionise the *trade and commerce of half the world*, and exercise on cotton and silk and tea, and the like, influences as yet undreamt of and unconceived. Most enormous interests were certainly likely to be affected, if even moderate anticipations were realised. It was not a little singular that amongst the bitterest opponents of the scheme were influential Egyptians themselves, and that Cairo and Alexandria felt greater disappointment than the prophets of evil in England and France.

In July, 1870, M. de Lesseps paid a visit to England. A banquet was given in his honour at Stafford House by the Duke of Sutherland, and the Duke of Cambridge and many other distinguished guests were present. Mr. Gladstone, in proposing the health of M. de Lesseps, said:—"It was impossible to conceive men surrounded with associations of greater interest and importance in human affairs than those which were connected with the name of M. de Lesseps. They must go back to the great achievements of former times, and remember the place held in the memories of men by those who had achieved great feats of discovery and enterprise, who had crossed mountains and traversed oceans, before they could find a parallel to the undertaking which had joined two seas and made a new pathway for commerce. Discovery had now taken a new form. They knew pretty well the geographical features and the extent of surface of the habitable globe. To connect distant places, and bring the inhabitants of the globe into easier and more frequent communication, was now the great want of science and the great duty of the discoverer." After alluding to the means of communication between the continents of Europe and Asia which had existed from time immemorial, Mr. Gladstone continued:—"Then came the great undertaking promoted by M. de Lesseps, which brought back the line of traffic to that which apparently was originated by the earliest merchants of primitive times It was impossible to estimate the immense benefits that would arise from a work which would cut off months in the intercourse between these continents of the globe It had been given to the electric telegraph to convey thoughts and ideas along the ancient highway, but not man or the commodities of various countries. This had been achieved by M. de Lesseps" Glancing at the material benefits which would result from bringing Asia and Australia into closer and more rapid communication with the millions of Europe, Mr. Gladstone said that "the difficulties which it would not become M. de Lesseps to speak of, he, standing there in the presence of men of practical science and experience, might praise, and call upon them to confirm his eulogy. It was not for

M. de Lesseps to heighten the difficulties which he had undertaken, and which he, along with his able and energetic colleagues, had surmounted. But while the whole civilised world would benefit by the courage and perseverance of M. de Lesseps, we who inhabit this little island might feel it our duty to be foremost in giving him the meed of our admiration. They were there as Englishmen, and as members of one common family, grateful to M. de Lesseps for the great work of genius which he had achieved." In his reply, M. de Lesseps alluded to his own great work and to Mr. Gladstone in the following terms:—"At the commencement of the enterprise which has now been successfully accomplished, he received me with the cordiality which is habitual to him, and said to me, 'M. de Lesseps, do not preoccupy yourself with the difficulties you may have to encounter in our country or in other countries. Continue your work with perseverance, and when you have succeeded, the Suez Canal will be so useful to England that you are sure to meet in our country with the greatest support.' Mr. Gladstone kindly added, what I do not hesitate to repeat, 'It is here that you will be crowned with glory.' I have no such pretensions. I have but the single idea and desire to prosecute a great work, and to earn the sympathy of men of intelligence and heart. And I am happy to see that this country, which has so vast a commerce and so vast a navy, is to-day convinced of the utility of the enterprise, and of the good which it will do to the commercial community and the world at large. On the day of the opening of the Suez Canal, the great Foreign Minister whom England has had the misfortune to lose, whose death has left so great a void in this country, and is indeed a loss in which every country may claim to share—Lord Clarendon—wrote to me a letter, in which, reminding me of the difficulties that I had so successfully surmounted, he congratulated me on having accomplished a work so useful to commerce and to humanity, and destined to strengthen the bonds which unite the nations of the earth. And, in fact, the words which Mr. Gladstone has just uttered, words so eloquent and so elevated, will do more in the interests of peace, will do more to confirm the high opinion which all must feel in the loyalty of English policy, than all the events which have occurred since the alliance between France and England was proclaimed. Yes, these utterances of England will do more than anything to give confidence to France, to bind still closer the ties of amity and the links of concord between the two countries."

A few days after this banquet, the Directors of the Crystal Palace gave a grand *fête* and reception in honour of M. de Lesseps. About seven in the evening the chief guest and his wife, his brother, the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, and other friends were received by Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P., the Chairman of the Company, and other Directors, at Rockhills. The party proceeded to the north-eastern side of the park, where they were received enthusiastically by the assembled throng of visitors. The fountains began to play, and the gardens, brilliant with summer flowers, peopled with gaily-dressed visitors, and brightened with the play of 12,000 water-jets, formed a scene of great beauty. The distinguished guests subsequently entered the Palace by the Tropical Department. M. de Lesseps and his friends were conducted to a gallery behind the theatre used for the performance of operas. The gallery was carpeted and decorated, and the Queen's Corridor, which was furnished to serve as a reception-room, was tastefully draped, and adorned with pictures illustrating Eastern life. Beyond, to the southward, a glazed gallery, about eighty feet in length, and lighted by crystal gaseliers, formed the banqueting hall. Amongst the company were M. and Madame de Lesseps, M. Charles de Lesseps, the Prince and Princess of Teck, the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, M. Emile de Girardin, Lord Houghton, Mr. Robert Browning, Lord Ronald Leveson Gower, Baron D'Erlanger, and the

Directors of the Crystal Palace Company. Mr. Thomas Hughes proposed the health of M de Lesseps, and prosperity to the enterprise with which his name would for ever be connected, and the Viscount suitably responded. The company shortly afterwards adjourned to the Queen's central open gallery, overlooking the gardens. A fine pyrotechnic display formed the chief feature of the grand *fête* which now took place. M. de Lesseps courteously acknowledged the cheers of the crowd, when the firing of a battery of signal maroons silenced the voices of the crowd who lined the parapets, covered the broad walks and grassy slopes on the terraces, and immediately the scene was illuminated by nearly two hundred coloured lights, held by as many boys from the Lambeth Industrial Schools. This formed what was called an Egyptian salute Then followed the fireworks, at the close of which came the great device intended to do special honour to the visit of M. de Lesseps. This was a great set piece. A pyramid was outlined in golden fire, bearing the inscription—"To De Lesseps England offers hearty congratulations," and having on either side a pair of palm-trees, which changed in colour as the piece burnt on. The grand finale consisted of a girandole of 2,000 large-sized rockets, which rose in splendid diverging columns, and burst into a huge bouquet of brilliant colours. With this the very successful display concluded. M. de Lesseps received during his stay in England many other flattering expressions of the popular good-will.

The history of the Suez Canal since its formal opening may be briefly told. Contrary to all prognostications, the traffic increased so rapidly that in the course of only one year from the inauguration ceremony it had doubled itself. Early in 1873 considerable discussion arose respecting the charges upon vessels passing through the canal. In April these charges were increased by fifty per cent.; the British Government appealed hereupon for an international conference in this matter, but Turkey declined. Ultimately a congress was arranged, and on the 28th of April, 1874, the tariff adopted by the International Tonnage Commission came into force on the canal. In December, 1875, public announcement was made that the British Government had purchased from the Khedive of Egypt, for £4,000,000, the 177,000 shares held by the latter in the Suez Canal Company. This step on the part of England was variously commented upon abroad, exciting unfavourable comment in some quarters, but M. de Lesseps issued a judicious and conciliatory circular, showing that the purchase had no political complexion. "The English nation," he remarked, "now accepts that share in the Canal Company which was loyally reserved for it at the outset; and if this step is to have any result, it can only be, in my view, by the abandonment by the British Government of an attitude which has long been hostile to the interests of the shareholder founders of the Maritime Canal, so energetic in their intelligent perseverance. I regard, therefore, as a fortunate event this powerful solidarity about to be established between French and English capital for the purely industrial and necessarily pacific working of the Universal Maritime Canal." This circular had much to do in allaying a threatened hostile feeling in Europe.

Another gigantic project put forward by M de Lesseps is the scheme for uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by means of a canal at Panama. M. de Lesseps proceeded to Panama in January, 1880, for the purpose of furthering this undertaking, but was disappointed at not receiving that official support to his scheme at Washington which he had hoped for. Nevertheless, the investigations into the feasibility of the proposed canal went forward. M. de Lesseps expressed entire confidence in the success of the enterprise, and had no hesitation in counting upon ample assistance from the financial world. The Government of the United States were not friendly to the project, on the ground that it might at some future time lead to grave

international complications. The projector was well received in New York, though this reception was dissociated from all idea of a public recognition of his scheme. If the work is ever satisfactorily completed, it will be due to the individual enterprise of M. de Lesseps and his friends, and it now remains to be seen whether the great engineer will add another triumph to a career already brilliant and distinguished

M. de Lesseps, shortly after the opening of the Suez Canal, was married at Ismailia to a young Creole of English origin, Mdlle. Autard de Bragard. The ceremony was attended by the Empress of the French and other illustrious guests. On the 21st of March, 1866, the distinguished engineer was advanced to the rank of Commander of the Legion of Honour, and was further elevated to the dignity of Grand Cross, without having passed through the intermediate grade of Grand Officer, by decree dated the 20th of November, 1869. M. Ferdinand de Lesseps has two brothers The elder, the Count Theodore de Lesseps, after having pursued a diplomatic career, was called to the Senate by decree, January 22nd, 1861. He had already been appointed Commander of the Legion of Honour in December, 1850. The younger brother, M. Jules de Lesseps, was for some time agent at Paris to the Bey of Tunis, and was associated in the direction and administration of the great work of his brother. He was nominated Officer of the Legion of Honour in July, 1847.

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JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

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MR. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Minister for the United States at the Court of St James's, has a strong double claim upon public attention. For a considerable period before he was appointed to the high diplomatic post which he now holds he enjoyed the distinction of being one of the most remarkable and original men of letters that America has yet produced. To a poetic genius little inferior to that of Longfellow or Whittier, he unites a wit keener than that of Oliver Wendell Holmes, though scarcely, perhaps, so genial; while as a writer of prose he compares not unfavourably with some of the most popular of English essayists. Mr Lowell was born on the 22nd of February, 1819, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was named after his father's maternal grandfather, Judge James Russell, of Charlestown. The father of the subject of our biography was the Rev. Charles Lowell, D D., pastor of the West Church, Boston, and a descendant of Percival Lowell, who emigrated from Bristol, England, settled in Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1639, and died at that place in 1665. Mr Lowell's mother was a native of New Hampshire, and a sister of Captain Robert T. Spence, of the United States navy. She is described as having possessed remarkable powers of mind, together with an extraordinary faculty for the acquisition of languages. This faculty she appears to have transmitted to her daughter, Mrs. Putnam, who is able to converse readily in French, Italian, German, Polish, Swedish, and Hungarian, and is familiar also with twenty modern dialects, in addition to the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Persic, and Arabic. Mrs. Putnam was the first to translate into English from the Swedish Frederika Bremer's popular novel of "The Neighbours."

After receiving his preliminary education at Cambridge, Mr. Lowell proceeded to Harvard University in the year 1838. Here he took his degree, and during his stay at Harvard he wrote a class poem, his first production in print. In 1841—that is, when he was only twenty-two years of age—appeared his first volume of poems, entitled "A Year's Life." That it was thought worthy of immediate attention by the first critical journal of America was a flattering tribute to the young poet's powers. The critic found in this volume much of the ore of poetry, though little of it in its purified and polished state. But the author's imagination was vivid, and his fancy fruitful in fine images. The highest possible compliment was paid to the purity and elevation of feeling displayed in the volume. "Morally speaking, there is not a line which, dying, he would wish to blot." In 1817 Mr. Lowell decided upon devoting himself to the profession of the law. Accordingly, after the usual preliminary studies, he was admitted to the Bar. But his thoughts were too much wedded to literature to admit of his success in the domain of the law, and after a very brief experience at the bar he relinquished altogether the legal profession. It was during this period—namely, in January, 1843—that he began, in conjunction with his friend, Mr. Robert Carter, the issue of "The Pioneer: a Literary and Critical Magazine." The public response to this venture was not sufficiently encouraging, considering the expenditure

involved in its production, and the periodical was dropped after the publication of three monthly numbers. It was expensively illustrated, and some idea may be gathered of the literary character of the "Pioneer" from the fact that it contained contributions by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allan Poe, Professor Dwight, and others.

Mr. Lowell had made so favourable an impression by his first volume, that its successor was looked forward to with unusual interest. It was not long in appearing, being published in 1844, under the title of "The Legend of Brittany: Miscellaneous Poems and Sonnets." It was at once seen that this new writer had made considerable strides in the poetic art. Even Poe, who delighted in being severely critical upon his brother poets and literary fellow-countrymen generally, pronounced "The Legend of Brittany" to be decidedly the noblest poem of any length written by an American. A writer in the *North American Review* recognised in these later productions a firmer intellect, a wider range of thought, a bolder tone of expression, and a versification greatly improved. It was evident that he was also becoming master of his fine powers, and an artist in the execution of his conceptions. The leading poem in this second volume relates how a country maiden was betrayed and murdered by a knightly lover. The corpse is concealed behind a church altar, but on a festival day its presence is made manifest by a voice demanding baptism for the unborn babe. The murderer is so overcome by remorse that he passes his last days in sorrow and repentance From the poetic point of view, the narrative demands the highest praise for its very beautiful delineation of the character of Margaret. We cannot do better than quote here a portion of this description, as illustrating the serious aspect of Mr. Lowell's poetry at its highest stage of development:—

"Fair as a summer dream was Margaret,
Such dream as in a poet's soul might start
Musing of old loves while the moon doth set;
Her hair was not more sunny than her heart,
Though, like a natural golden coronet,
It circled her dear head with careless art,
Mocking the sunshine, that would fain have lent
To its frank grace a richer ornament.

"She dwelt for ever in a region bright,
Peopled with living fancies of her own,
Where naught came but visions of delight,
Far, far aloof from earth's eternal moan:
A summer cloud thrilled through with rosy light,
Floating beneath the blue sky all alone,
Her spirit wandered by itself, and won
A golden edge from some unsetting sun.

"The heart grows richer that its lot is poor—
God blesses want with larger sympathies—
Love enters gladliest at the humble door,
And makes the cot a palace with his eyes,
So Margaret's heart a softer beauty wore,
And grew in gentleness and patience wise;
For she was but a simple herdsman's child,
A lily chance sown in the rugged wild."

Amongst other striking poems in the same volume was a classical study, "Rhœcus," and a

noteworthy story of the effect created by Lowell's new class of poems in the Yankee dialect—a dialect which was believed to be utterly incompatible with the exigencies of verse. "We were sitting one evening in the bar-room of a hotel in Washington, just after the election of General Taylor, when our political metropolis was filled with office-seekers from all parts of the country; the room was crowded with rude men, who were discussing political matters, and the last thing we could have looked for was a harangue on American poetry. A roughly-dressed down-easter—or, at least, he had the accent and look of one—came into the bar-room, and addressing himself to a knot of men who appeared to know him, exclaimed, 'Who says there are no American poets?' And he looked around upon the company, as though he would be rather pleased than otherwise to encounter an antagonist. But nobody seemed disposed to venture such an assertion; the novelty of the question, however, attracted the attention of the people near him, which was probably all he wanted. 'Well,' continued the speaker, with an air of defiant confidence, 'if anybody says so, I am prepared to dispute with him. I have found an American poet. I don't know who he is nor where he lives, but he is the author of these lines, and he is a poet.' He took a newspaper from his pocket, and read what Parson Wilbur, in the 'Biglow Papers,' calls a New England 'pastoral.'" This was the poem called "The Courtin'," than which, as regards humour and felicity of expression, its author has probably never written anything better.

The pungent "Biglow Papers" forced their way, as was admitted at the time by a native reviewer, "from their droll and felicitous portraiture of the Yankee character and dialect, and their successful hits at our national passion for military glory. Political opponents, as well as friends, laughed loud and long at the Birdofredom Sawin's Letters, describing his experience in the wars, and the mishaps that he encountered before he could make his way home again. . . . The rhymes are as startling and felicitous as any in 'Hudibras,' and the quaint drollery of the illustrations is in admirable keeping with the whole character of the forlorn recruit from Massachusetts. Of the almost numberless imitations of the Yankee dialect this is decidedly the best that we have seen. Sam Slick is a mere pretender in comparison." The nobler side of the question was that Mr. Lowell used his gift of satire in a high and holy cause—the suppression of slavery. He endeavoured to shame its supporters by the powerful aid of ridicule. This one volume proved that a satirist of undoubted original power had arisen—a man whose genius was strong enough to overcome the uncouth bonds of the dialect in which he wrote.

Resting upon his oars now for some time, our author came to Europe in July, 1851, and travelled abroad until December, 1852. But he did not relax his literary efforts against slavery, and he also contributed to several of the leading American magazines. In 1854, on his return to his native country, he delivered a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute on English poetry, including the old ballad writers, Chaucer, Pope, and others, to Wordsworth and Tennyson. These lectures were strongly flavoured by his dominating literary qualities. As further work in the same field, Mr Lowell edited the poems of Andrew Marvell, Donne, Keats, Wordsworth, and Shelley, in the standard series of the English poets published by a well-known American house. In 1855 he was appointed to a much-coveted post in Harvard College, viz, that of Professor of Belles Lettres, formerly held by Mr Longfellow. As the custom is under this appointment, he had the privilege of passing a preliminary year in Europe before entering upon its duties. For several years he now devoted himself almost solely to the professional claims upon him, and it was not until 1861 that he again appeared before the public as an author with his "Fireside Travels." During the unfortunate Civil War in America Mr. Lowell was once more to the

front, strongly on the side of the North, with a new series of the "Biglow Papers," published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. These papers attracted wide attention, not only from their wit and ready application of the circumstances of the time, but also from the deep and practical philosophy embodied in them. The papers were afterwards published in book form in 1867. Mr Lowell has also had some experience of the difficulties of editorship, for in 1863 he undertook the joint editorship, with Mr. Charles E. Norton, of the *North American Review*. Since he ceased his editorial connection with this able periodical, Mr. Lowell has been a frequent contributor to its pages. In 1869 appeared "Under the Willows, and other Poems," the first collection of the author's poems which had been made for twenty-one years back. In this collection, while some old poems were altogether omitted, there were, besides the fine blank verse effort furnishing the title of the work, noticeable memorable poems on Longfellow and Bryant, an ode recited at the Harvard Commemoration in 1865, while the inimitable pastoral, "The Courtin'," appeared, extended to four times its original length. "The Cathedral," a meditative poem in blank verse, suggested by a visit to Chartres, was published in 1869, and instantly showed that Mr. Lowell was an objective as well as a subjective poet of no mean power. Since that time numerous editions of his collected poems have appeared.

By two volumes, published respectively in 1870 and 1871, and entitled "Among my Books," and "My Study Windows," Mr. Lowell took high rank amongst living prose writers. In the former volume were papers on Shakespeare, Rousseau, Dryden, and others, while the latter, devoted to articles of a miscellaneous character, was concerned with such different personalities as Carlyle, Lincoln, Swinburne, Emerson, &c., the papers being used chiefly as a vehicle for the writer's thoughts upon men and books, and things generally. It may be convenient here to supplement the quotation we have already given as evidencing Mr. Lowell's higher poetical qualities by two or three brief extracts illustrating the method of his prose criticism, as well as his prose writing generally. Dealing with the character of Shakespeare and his genius, he observes:—"I have said that it was doubtful if Shakespeare had any conscious moral intention in his writings. I meant only that he was purely and primarily poet. And while he was an English poet, in a sense that was true of no other, his method was thoroughly Greek, yet with this remarkable difference: that while the Greek dramatists took purely national themes, and gave them an universal interest by their mode of treatment, he took what may be called cosmopolitan traditions, legends of human nature, and naturalised them by the infusion of his perfectly Anglican breadth of character and solidity of understanding. Wonderful as his imagination and fancy are, his perspicuity and artistic discretion are more so . . . But higher even than the genius we rate the character of this unique man, and the grand impersonality of what he wrote. What has he told us of himself? In our self-exploiting nineteenth century, with its melancholy liver complaint, how serene and high he seems! If he has sorrows, he has made them the woof of everlasting consolation to his kind; and if, as poets are wont to whine, the outward world was cold to him, its biting air did but trace itself in loveliest frost-work of fancy on the many windows of that self-centred and cheerful soul." Speaking of New England in that charming volume, "Among my Books," the writer says: "I have little sympathy with declaimers about the Pilgrim Fathers, who look upon them all as men of grand conceptions and superhuman foresight. An entire ship's company of Columbuses is what the world never saw. It is not wise to form any theory and fit our facts to it, as a man in a hurry is apt to cram his travelling-bag, with a total disregard of shape or texture. But perhaps it may be found that the facts will only fit comfortably together on a single plan,

namely, that the fathers did have a conception (which those will call grand who regard simplicity as a necessary element of grandeur) of founding here a commonwealth on those two eternal bases of Faith and Work; that they had, indeed, no revolutionary ideas of universal liberty, but yet, what answered the purpose quite as well, an abiding faith in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God; and that they did not so much propose to make all things new, as to develop the latent possibilities of English law and English character, by clearing away the fences by which the abuse of the one was gradually discommoning the other from the broad fields of natural right. They were not in advance of their age, as it is called, for no one who is so can ever work profitably in it; but they were alive to the highest and most earnest thinking of their time." Again, dealing with superstition in an essay on "Witchcraft," he observes: "Superstition in its baneful form was largely due to the enforcement by the Church of arguments that involved a *petitio principii*, for it is the miserable necessity of all false logic to accept of very ignoble allies. Fear became at length its chief expedient for the maintenance of its power; and as there is a beneficent necessity laid upon a majority of mankind to sustain and perpetuate the order of things they are born into, and to make all new ideas manfully prove their right, first, to be at all, and then to be heard, many even superior minds dreaded the tearing away of vicious accretions as dangerous to the whole edifice of religion and society. But if this old ghost be fading away in what we regard as the dawn of a better day, we may console ourselves by thinking that perhaps, after all, we are not so *much* wiser than our ancestors. The rappings, the trance mediums, the visions of hands without bodies, the sounding of musical instruments without visible fingers, the miraculous inscriptions on the naked flesh, the enlivenment of furniture, we have invented none of them, they are all heirlooms." Mr. Lowell was appointed to write the poem to be delivered on "Commemoration Day" at Harvard University, when memorial ceremonies were held for alumni of the university who had fallen in the Civil War. The ode then recited, which was generally considered to be one of the noblest of his poems, was afterwards included in one volume with "Under the Willows," &c. The poet again visited Europe in 1872, and in the year 1874 the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge. He returned to America the same year. Towards the close of 1874 Mr. Lowell was offered the post of Minister to Russia, which he declined, but in 1877 he accepted the appointment of Minister to Spain.

In the work from which we have already quoted, "Homes of American Authors," the writer of the article upon the subject of our biography observes:—"Among all the authors whose homes are noticed in this volume, Lowell is the only one who has the fortune to reside in the house in which he was born. It is a happiness which few Americans of mature age can know. But Lowell has been peculiarly happy in his domestic relations; nature has endowed him with a vigorous constitution and a healthy and happy temperament; and, but for the loss of his three children—the youngest of whom, his only boy, died recently in Rome—there would have been fewer shadows on his path than have fallen to the lot of other poets. A nature like his can make its own sunshine, and find an oasis in every desert; yet it was a rare fortune that he found himself in such a home as his imagination would have created for him if he had been cast homeless upon the world. He loves to throw a purple light over the familiar scene, and to invest it with a superfluousness of grateful gilding. The large-hearted love to give, whether their gifts be needed or not, the lovely landscape around Elmwood looks still lovelier in his verse than to the unaided vision; and the 'dear marshes,' through which the briny

Charles ebbs and flows, are pleasanter for being seen through the golden haze of the poet's affection:—

"'Below, the Charles—a stripe of nether sky,
Now hid by rounded apple-trees between,
Whose gaps the misplaced sail sweeps bellying by,
Now flickering golden through a woodland screen,
Then spreading out, at his next turn beyond,
A silver circle, like an inland pond—
Slips seaward silently through marshes purple and green.

"'All round, upon the river's slippery edge,
Witching to deeper calm the drowsy tide,
Whispers and leans the breeze entangling sedge;
Through emerald glooms the lingering waters slide;
Or, sometimes wavering, throw back the sun,
And the stiff banks in eddies melt and run
Of dimpling light, and with the current seem to glide.'"

Such is the home of the poet, as depicted by himself. With regard to the character of his poetry, these remarks touch upon some of its chief aspects:—"Lowell is generally looked upon as a serious poet; and, indeed, no one has a better claim to be so regarded, for seriousness is one of the first essentials of all genuine poetry. But seriousness is not necessarily sadness. Much of his poetry overflows with mirthful and jocund feelings, and in his most pungent satire there is a constant bubbling up of a genial and loving nature; the brilliant flashes of his wit are softened by an evident gentleness of motive. He is the first of our poets who has succeeded in making our harsh and uncouth Yankee dialect subservient to the uses of poetry: this he has done with entire success in that admirable piece of humorous satire, 'The Biglow Papers.' He is acknowledged as one of the poets of the people. There are none of our poets whose short pieces we find more frequently in the corners of newspapers, although they are but rarely attributed to their author." Again, with respect to his prose works, the same critic remarks:—"Lowell's prose writings are as remarkable as his poetry; the copiousness of his illustrations, the richness of his imagery, the easy flow of his sentences, the keenness of his wit, and the force and clearness of his reasoning, give to his reviews and essays a fascinating charm that would place him in the front rank of our prose writers, if he did not occupy a similar position among our poets." Mr. Tuckerman, one of the ablest of American critics—from whom we have already quoted—remarked that Mr. Lowell "unites, in his most effective power, the dreamy, suggestive character of the transcendental bards with the philosophic simplicity of Wordsworth. He has written clever satires, good sonnets, and some long poems with fine descriptive passages. He reminds us often of Tennyson in the sentiment and construction of his verse. Imagination and philanthropy are the dominant elements in his writings."

Mr. Lowell has been twice married: first, in 1844, to Miss Maria White, of Watertown, Massachusetts. This lady was the author of many excellent translations from the German, and of original poems far exceeding the average in merit. It was her death which drew from Longfellow his poem of "The Two Angels," one of the most exquisite of the many lyrical effusions of his muse. Mrs. Lowell died in 1853, and the poet married secondly, in 1857, Miss Frances Dunlap, niece of ex-Governor Dunlap, of Portland, Maine. An interesting anecdote is related of Mr. Lowell's father, who matriculated at Edinburgh University as a Divinity student at the same time as Sir David Brewster. When Dr. Lowell visited Scotland,